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ABSTRACT

This examination of the operation of teams in the Pilot Communities Program is chiefly historical in character. Based on intensive examination of proposals, evaluation studies, reports, memoranda, and interviews with personnel involved in the program, it was written by two university professors who had not been involved in the actual program. The introduction discusses teams as a vehicle for change and presents operating principles drawn from the experience of the Pilot Communities Program's teams in Maine; Boston; Washington, D.C.; and Bridgeport, Connecticut. The first four chapters examine the history of the individual teams and draw principles of operation from them. The fifth chapter examines the commonalities which exist among the four projects, and the final chapter discusses the possibilities and limitations of innovation teams. (HMD)

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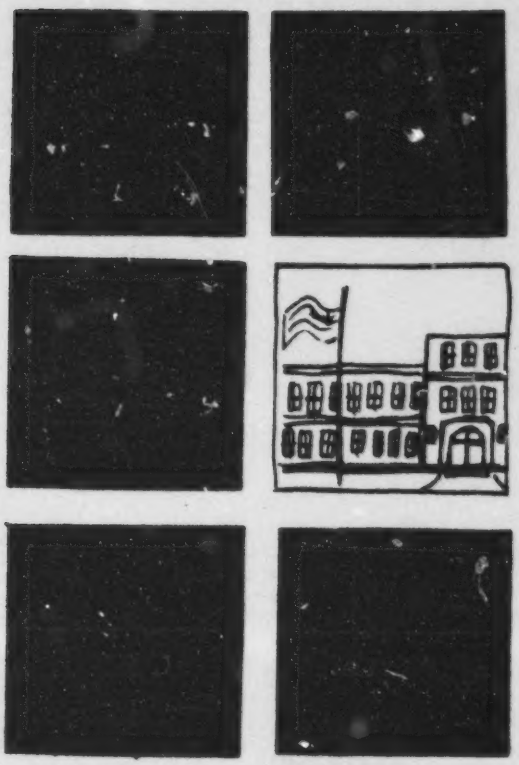

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innovation teams

operating principles

by George B. Thomas
and James M. Jones
(TDR Associates, Inc.)

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The operation of teams in the Pilot Communities Program has been examined, summarized, and written about in two distinctly different ways. There is both a history and a "how to do it" volume on innovation teams.

This volume is chiefly historical in character. Based upon intensive examination of proposals, evaluation studies, reports, memoranda, and interviews with personnel involved in the program, it was written by two university professors who had not been involved in the actual program. They were asked to examine the written record and to bring to it their own biases and points of view, even if based on theories of change different from those demonstrated or seen in the program.

In my view the two authors have written an interesting and authentic historical account of a very complicated program. In addition, they have pulled from the history a series of abstractions about team operations in relationship to outside systems. These abstractions are their own, and from the point of view of those of us who struggled with the program, participated in it and made mistakes, they offer useful guidelines.

Our experience and knowledge also supports a more prescriptive and directive discussion of the "how to" and theoretical basis for building teams. We have developed another book therefore, written by the practitioners, myself, and a team leader reflecting directly what experience has taught us. Anyone interested in building a team should probably read both documents. They support and extend and challenge one another. They slice through data in different ways. They represent the tension of the observer and doer. This should be useful and reflects, in our view, reality.

Mary Lela Sherburne
Director
Pilot Communities Program

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George B. Thomas
James M. Jones

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INTRODUCTION: Teams as a Vehicle for Change

In the fall of 1967, four teams of master teachers, trained in the use of new classroom materials and eager to do something about what they believed were outmoded instructional practices, walked into selected schools and established contact with classroom teachers. That was the beginning of a four-year project in educational change known as the Pilot Communities Program. Headquarters for the operation was the Education Development Center, a curriculum development organization in Newton, Massachusetts, and most of its funds came from a Title IV grant of the U.S. Office of Education. Both EDC and OE hoped that the four teams of master teachers in four "Pilot Communities" in the Northeast could effectively channel new curricular and teaching methods into the public schools.

This book presents what the authors believe are the major lessons learned from the Pilot Communities experience about using teams as a vehicle for change. It is a description of what happened in four places on the East Coast, not a prescription guaranteed to make the same things happen elsewhere. Kansas City in 1977 is not Boston in 1967. Nevertheless, we hope that people who want to improve schools--in Kansas City, in Duluth, in Houston--will find this description of the use of teams helpful in planning their own programs.

It's important to say a word about the historical context within which the Pilot Communities Program was conceptualized.

In the spring of 1967, when Pilot Communities was being planned, major federal aid to public education, embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was less than two years old. Urban education problems

were just beginning to attract the interest of innovating institutions, which, like EDC, had concentrated on the college preparatory track of suburban schools. EDC's laboratory had been Newton, the suburb next door, and not Boston, the urban center a couple of miles down the Charles River.

In 1967, those citizens of the urban communities who were active in educational reform were primarily concerned with public school integration. They were setting up busing programs within the cities and with suburbs like Newton. Tutoring and "enrichment" programs to supplement regular public school programs after school hours were also popular.

In 1967, the cry for "community control" was barely heard in the background. Like the curriculum reformers at EDC and elsewhere, urban reformers, black and white, had not yet developed full-fledged criticisms of the curriculum and control of the public schools. I.S. 201 in New York City, the bellwether of local control, did not erupt until the winter of 1967. It was still possible to plan a program for school improvement like the Pilot Communities Program without a heavy component of "community involvement" and without incessant demands for "community control."

The Pilot Communities Program, then, was born in a relatively quiet time. It was a far-sighted program for 1967, and many of its principles are still revolutionary for most public schools. But it was not intended to provide radical alternatives; its aims were much more modest. EDC and the Office of Education intended the Program to improve classroom instruction in some schools in a few "pilot" communities, not to remake

their school systems completely. In this document, we will try to describe the Innovation Teams started by the Program as concisely and fairly as possible, without losing a sense of the complexity and variety of the Program's activities, and without demanding that it be more than it was intended to be. If we are judgmental, we will try to judge the Program in terms of its intended scope.

Specifically, the scope of the Pilot Communities was only as broad as the movements of its four teams. One team worked in a model school division of Washington, D.C.; a second worked with two middle schools in Bridgeport, Connecticut; a third operated out of a resource center in the Roxbury District of Boston, Massachusetts; and a fourth divided its efforts between three towns in a triangular section of the Maine coast.

The primary clients of the Innovation Teams were experienced elementary school teachers, and their primary function was to help teachers adopt new curriculum materials and methods of instruction.

Each Team carried out projects that were exceptions to this general rule. The Boston Team, for example, devoted much time in the first two years to private "community" schools; the Maine Team spent the past two years in pre-service education; and a training program for teacher aides was a principal outcome of the Pilot Communities work in Bridgeport. These exceptions tend to obstruct the view of the whole Program, partly because some of the individual projects were so successful. Nevertheless, the initial intention of the Pilot Communities Program was not to initiate projects in aide-training or bilingual education, but to bring new cur-

riculum resources to experienced classroom teachers in public schools. And, to this end, over the four years on all four sites, Team members spent most of their time organizing and running workshops for teachers and working individual classrooms, sometimes teaching demonstration lessons and sometimes working cooperatively with the teachers.

In addition, the Innovation Team concept called for master teachers to work together, in Teams, not as separated, autonomous agents. Each team provided a pool of human resources, available on call to individual Team members in need of specific help. Each Team was trained as a Team, usually with aid from EDC-Newton, in content areas and in group dynamics. Each Team planned and replanned its strategies, often with considerable complication and sophistication. And each Team from time to time carried out special projects, like the Boston Team's help with the establishment of a bilingual transitional school. But the Team's main function was to provide support to the work of Team members with classroom teachers.

The simplest way of describing this teacher-to-teacher activity is to say that experienced classroom teachers were recruited to help less-experienced teachers who wanted their help. This helping was always on an invitational basis. Team members went into classrooms only when they were asked in, and teachers attended Team workshops on a voluntary basis.

The struggles each team experienced in seeking to influence the client schools provide sufficient data to generalize about what an innovation team needs to do if it is to hope for some measure of success.

The following is a distillation of the operating principles we have isolated as crucial and generally applicable:

1. Preconditions for Change: There must be widespread dissatisfaction with a given school system, if an innovation team is to intervene there successfully. (See p. 8)

2. Administrative Support: Solid and visible support at each level of the school system's administration must be present from the beginning. (See p. 10)

3. Contracting: The process of contracting, or making and re-making agreements between the Team and its "client" never stops (See p. 49)

4. Team Leader: A Team needs a leader as a rallying point for its energies. After the crucial stages, the leader should continue in his role only by consensus among the team. (See p. 30)

5. Team Members: Certain characteristics of prospective Team members are imperative--"fit" with teachers they're intended to work with; high intelligence, poise, and self-assurance; specific expertise; tenacity, and likemindedness. (See p. 31)

6. Team-Building and Planning: A Team must make a conscious effort to become a Team, and it must continue to grow. Its members must confront each other when necessary, lock horns on problems, make decisions, and keep moving. (See p. 53)

7. Interaction with the Client System: Team members must walk a difficult path in their dealings with teachers. They must never take part in the system's evaluation of its teachers; on the other hand, they must not shrink from critical interaction with teachers. (See p. 97)

8. Relationship-Building with Individual Teachers: Team members should go only where they are wanted. They should respond to specific needs, and build relationships with individual teachers in an atmosphere of mutual respect and learning. (See p. 98)

9. Quick Response to New Opportunities: Team members' time should be loosely enough allocated to allow quick response to needs that arise on the project site. (See p. 78)

10. The Necessity of Trust: Without mutual trust, any helping relationship will founder. (See p. 79)

The four chapters that follow--one for each of the four teams--illustrate the above principles in two ways. They are illustrated informally by the evidence presented in our narrative description of a specific team's operations, its problems, and successes. They are illustrated more directly on the blue pages dispersed throughout the text. Here the operating principles are restated and supporting evidence is drawn from the experience of all four teams.

We believe that the principal mission of the Pilot Communities Teams was their work with classroom teachers, in groups and as individuals. Thus, we have emphasized narrative materials and operating principles that focus primarily on that teacher-helping activity; other issues, such as the functioning of the central administration in Newton and the additional projects which some of the Teams initiated which seemed tangential to their main purpose, are given peripheral consideration.

In the four narratives, our reconstruction of events has depended principally on the Program's written records, which are incomplete and inconsistent across sites. For example, the only complete logs of Team members' interactions with teachers available to us come from the first two years in Maine. Logs on other sites were never kept, or lost. Similarly, the only records of Team meetings come from one year in Boston. We had no contemporary records at all from the Washington Team. Given this limited data, we chose not to try to provide full "case studies" of each site. We have tried to emphasize the highlights of the activity on each of the four sites, presenting in some detail those problems and successes which shed light on the functioning of an Innovation Team. The narratives

are not symmetrical in terms of the topics covered, nor the extensiveness of the treatment; however, the discussions have been organized according to the major categories of operating principles for easy reference.

We offer this description as the record of ideas that were often only understood after they were put into practice. We urge our colleagues in other school systems to be suspicious of their validity at other times and in other places, but not to dismiss them out of hand. We believe that the Pilot Communities Program generated some new ideas about change in public school systems and confirmed some old ones. Old or new, the ideas are valuable for anyone who wants to improve schooling.

OPERATING PRINCIPLES (I)

The following lessons from the Pilot Communities experience identify the conditions in the school system and the community that must exist for successful employment of an innovation team.

Operating Principle

PRECONDITIONS FOR CHANGE. In the entry stage of a team's intervention, there must be dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. This dissatisfaction must be widespread and shared among all the constituencies related to the school system: parents, teachers, supervisors, and children. There must also be general agreement that the needs can be met with the kinds of activities an Innovation Team can carry out.

Evidence from the Four Sites

The four Teams of the Pilot Communities Program operated effectively only where there was general agreement that they were needed. Without initial general support, their low-key helping activities were undercut. Whenever there was hostility or apathy from parents, teachers, or administrators, the Teams' benign efforts at change were rendered difficult or impossible.

When the Pilot Communities Program was starting, in 1967, dissatisfaction with the schools in Boston's black community was widespread. Roxbury leaders were starting private community schools and tutorial programs, and they kept educational problems squarely in the headlines.

It is not so clear that black parents in general were dissatisfied with the schools, but many people--children, teachers, and administrators--knew that changes in Roxbury schools were essential. The time was ripe for a Team effort. (In fact, the needs in Roxbury for school improvement may have been so great, the Team's efforts could never be sufficient.)

This dissatisfaction in Roxbury was not generally shared by whites in South Boston's Andrew School district. Neither parents nor teachers were ready for much change, especially if that change was to be activated by "outsiders." People in South Boston preferred to be left alone. Sensing this, the Boston Team invested less and less effort in work at the Andrew School.

In 1967, there was also little apparent local dissatisfaction in and around the schools serviced by the Maine Team. Teachers, parents, administrators, and students seem to have been relatively complacent and not highly enthusiastic about the necessity of educational improvement, although they were willing to let the Team try its hand. This low initial dissatisfaction and, indeed, organized parental opposition to some of the changes proposed for the Tennants Harbor School diminished the effectiveness of the Maine Team, helping encourage it to shift its energies to pre-service teacher training activities after the second year.

In addition to the need for a community-wide consensus that improvement in the schools is necessary, there must be some knowledge of the capacities and the limitations of Innovation Teams. The kinds of Innovation Teams disclosed in this report primarily sponsor direct teacher-support activities. They are not primarily curriculum developers, community organizers, or remedial specialists. They cannot bail out helpless teachers; they cannot resolve severely polarized school-community disputes; they are not primarily project-doers.

Operating Principle

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT. Solid and visible support at each level of the school system's administration must be present from the beginning and continue throughout an Innovation Team project.

Evidence from the Four Sites

The Bridgeport Team's experience offers the most tangible evidence of this need. The Team's operations were encouraged by the Superintendent, but several key top administrators were either hostile or wary. Their suspicion, which was not clearly identified until the work in Bridgeport was well underway, proved to be impossible to overcome. Since the Team existed at the sufferance of the school system, such opposition could not be overcome by confrontation, and no other resolution was apparently attempted.

In Washington, by contrast, the Team operated under the personal protection of the administrator of the Model School Division. Even when there was opposition to the Team's activities among some of the administrators in the central office, the relative autonomy of the MSD and the personal interest of its administrator helped shelter the Washington Team. Even more important, the MSD staff encouraged the teachers even when the work resulted in unusual changes in classroom practice. Unlike the Bridgeport teachers, teachers in Washington could be sure that the changes they made in classrooms would not affect their records adversely.

The Boston Team enjoyed moderate support from the administrators they worked with. In general, they were given considerable autonomy. The assistant superintendents responsible for the districts the Team operated in were especially supportive. In Maine, relations with superintendents were good from the beginning, the result of much pre-planning and a continuous flow of information.

Support from the schools system's administration should reward teachers for cooperation with the Team. The Superintendent should assign the Team to a top administrator who agrees with the Team's goals and strategies. Extra money for Team operations, pay for substitute teachers, released time, materials, workshops, and consultants will provide tangible evidence of the administration's support.

Formally allowing the Team unusual degrees of freedom will also enhance its operations. In Washington this was accomplished by assigning the Team to the Model School Division, an already-existing semi-autonomous sub-system. Whether or not a sub-system or a decentralized district is used as the formal framework, a Team will need to be vested with the right to judge the appropriate qualifications of its members and to experiment with new classroom material and curricula. Top administrative support symbolized by a semi-autonomous jurisdiction, as well as having an advocate in the top administrative councils will help meet the need for support and freedom.

CHAPTER 1

MID-COAST MAINE

> If you guys have done nothing else, you've at least gotten the teachers to the point where they can talk with each other about their problems and their feelings without hostility. They're open enough so that they can air their ideas without fear of being walked on. If you don't accomplish anthing else but that, it's been worthwhile.
>
> --Superintendent of a school district in Maine about the first year efforts of the Maine Innovation Team

The activities of the Pilot Communities Program in Maine during the first two years were tightly focused with modest objectives. In the first year (1967-8), three Team members were assigned to three schools: an elementary school in the small coastal city of Bath, a 100-pupil high school seventy miles inland in Richmond, and another elementary school fifty miles up the coast in Tenants Harbor. During the second year two Team members covered the three schools.

Each Maine Team member spent about one day a week in the school to which he was assigned. He often arrived early in the morning for the weekly faculty meeting. He also visited the other schools, took part in Team meetings, attended conferences, and went to meetings with state and local school officials. But his principal energies were directed towards that day each week in "his" school. He responded to requests for help from teachers and principals, contacted specialists for advice, and sometimes brought them to the schools. Each Team member was, therefore, both a helper himself and a contact man for a larger network of help--from EDC at first, and increasingly from resources in Maine.

The initial members of the Maine Team shared personal characteristics important to the successful functioning of the Team. All three were similar to the teachers they were to work with in terms of age, race, and experience; each had extensive and successful classroom experience in schools similar to the one he would work with, and each agreed with the others' educational philosophy and strategies for change.

ENTRY AND INITIAL CONTRACTING. The Maine team made its entry into the three schools through a long and careful process. In the fall of 1966, an initial commitment was made to working in a rural New England community as one of the experimental sites. Through the winter, Pilot Communities planning staff looked in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont for possible sites and finally settled on a section of mid-coast Maine, a triangle 50 miles on each side, served by eleven school administrative districts and eleven superintendents. The nature and extent of collaboration with the schools was the next question. The idea of leading off the program with activities which would blanket the whole area was rejected, because this would entail a lot of talk and far more funds than were available. For the sake of economy, earlier visibility, and better opportunity for team learning, it was decided to work initially with the teachers in a small number of schools. Early in the summer, the following possibilities were listed:

- Cooperating with a proposed research project in the Coffin School in Brunswick.
- Cooperating with a joint committee of teachers from Brunswick and Bath in selection of new materials for the elementary science curriculum.

- Helping the Newell School in Bath develope flexible pupil groupings.
- Developing an individual learning center at Richmond High School and cultivating relations with a year-long Headstart Program in Richmond.
- Assisting the staff of Georges Valley High School in Thomaston in improving the curriculum, particularly in English.
- Working with the staff of the St. George School in Tenants Harbor to follow up an earlier start toward nongrading.
- Following up summer Headstart teachers who had already worked with EDC staff in their summer training program.
- Undertaking some kind of project in vocational education.

The three schools that were finally selected--the Newell School in Bath, Richmond High School in Richmond, and the St. George School in Tenants Harbor--represented a type of educational and socio-economic situation that was fairly characteristic of the area. It is important to note the extreme care with which EDC palnners defined their goals and functions. They anticipated working with client schools on the following projects:

- An indoor-outdoor comprehensive science program that would make use of the rich outdoor environment of the Newell school. An architectural plan intended to allow flexible grouping of children and teacher utilization patterns.
- The introduction of materials and teaching-learning methods that would encourage greater activity for children and increase motivation for reading and writing in the primary grades.
- A laboratory for the rural high school in Richmond in which the students would have access to a broad spectrum of learning materials, not merely in the hard sciences, but also in the social sciences, language study, and anthropology.

- An ungraded primary plan for St. George School and a substantive program of individualized instruction.

The planning and contracting process went on, even after this extensive list of projects and activities was drafted. At a three-day conference in August, 1967, involving all the teachers and principals of the target schools and the superintendent from the eleven school districts, the Pilot Communities Staff demonstrated some of the new modes of teaching, and the teachers and principal of each school told the Pilot Communities Staff where they could use some help. For example, the staff of the Newell School expressed needs . . .

- To give children opportunity to experience success - reading is critical - but other areas of the curriculum are involved.
- To rearrange class groups.
- To familiarize themselves with a wider range of curriculum materials.

- To visit other schools to see other teachers in action.
- To inform parents of changes.

This slow and careful entry process helped to develop initial "contracts" between all the participants. It also legitimated the project by showing it as part of a large and carefully-thought-out program. During the long planning process, Pilot Communities dealt with the several levels of the educational hierarchy. The only group left out of the negotiations were the taxpaying citizens, and this neglect took its toll in Tenants Harbor a year-and-half later.

TEAM INTERACTION WITH TARGET SCHOOLS. In September, on invitation of of individual teachers with whom they had been working during the summer workshop, Team members started visiting classrooms. They asked questions about pupils and made suggestions about techniques and materials. Weekly meetings with the school staff began in the two elementary schools. Team members taught cooperatively with several teachers in each school. Sharing responsibility for their pupils, in this way, represented an important level of acceptance by the teachers. They "risked some of themselves," one Team member commented, with a person from "outside." As specific problems were identified, consultants in the fields of child development, reading instruction, social studies, English, and science were invited to work with individual teachers and groups. For three months in the spring of 1968, an educator-craftsman took up residence in Richmond and worked with teachers and pupils in various types of handiwork. During the year, a few visits were arranged for groups of teachers. Teachers were supplied with special curriculum

materials--Cuisenaire rods, programmed reading materials, geo-boards, and so forth--and watched pupils perform in new learning situations. Team members assisted in preparing several of the Richmond teachers for teaching English to Russian-speaking residents.

The purpose of all this varied activity was implicit rather than explicit. The Team members sought to earn the confidence of the teachers, to see their problems through the teachers' eyes and to help solve them, to help the teachers understand their pupils as individuals, and to devise and use modes and materials of instruction appropriate to this orientation.

Steps were also taken during the first year to interpret the project to a wider community and to prepare for broader involvement.

- At a meeting in late November with superintendents and officials from the State Department of Education, the principals of the three schools reported informally on their Pilot Communities-related activities.

- The Team assisted one of the school districts to prepare a successful Title II (ESEA) proposal for a Model Staff Workshop and Summer School.

- It prepared another proposal for funding an Institute on Educational Change. (This Institute, although it wasn't funded immediately, developed into the Team's major effort in its last two years.)

- And, on four occasions, the Maine Team met with a community development specialist about the question of involving the larger community in educational development.

Although the personnel of the Team changed in the second year, the activities of the Team changed very little. There were more activities of the planning and coordinating variety described above. The principal focus was still on classroom teachers in the target schools.

DIARY OF A TEAM MEMBER. The core of the Team members' work with an individual teacher is exemplified by the record of collaboration between one Team member, "Charles," and a high school teacher, "Jim," who had attended Pilot Communities summer workshops. This section consists of excerpts from a log kept by Charles which give his reactions to some of his interactions over a period of four months. All names have been changed, and the excerpts have been edited to focus on the interactions between Charles and Jim, although Charles was also working with other teachers in the same school.

Visit to Hamilton High October 8

Jim told me about his efforts with an economics course for general students. They have done surveys and collected artifacts and given presentations to the rest of the class. They didn't write anything--writing is difficult for them. Jim says the class likes what it is doing. We came up with the following list of ideas that we could pursue.

1. Write to other schools to ask them to send food prices from their locality. (I am working on getting a list.)

2. Look at SRA economics games. Where can these be seen? At the Curriculum Center? Is it operating yet? Call SRA salesman. Where do you locate him?

I am not sure how much of this I should do for Jim, because he is capable if he has time.

In the following entry, Charles defines his sense of his role. He has to be a listener, a mirror, and a facilitator. He would try not to overwhelm Jim, but, at the same time, he would try to stretch him, urging a larger, more systematic look at a framework that could inform the day-to-day classroom activities. A constant thread in the log

entries is Jim's lack of time to pay careful, systematic attention to his economics course, or to Charles' suggestions.

> My impressions of Jim are that he is an enthusiastic, more scholarly than average, but impulsive teacher. I feel that he is very capable of proceeding on his own and that my function will be to listen to his requests, to try to interpret his needs, and weigh means of giving him help that doesn't overwhelm him. I do hope that in the future I can get other people, such as sociologists, economists, other teachers that Jim can talk to.

More than anything else, the following letter represents the immense frustration experienced by Jim and Charles simply in finding enough time to talk. Some of this difficulty may have been due to faulty scheduling; the Team members generally spent only a day a week in the school they were assigned to. But most was a direct function of Jim's incredibly full schedule. Their meetings seem to have been catch-as-catch-can, always sandwiched between Jim's manifold obligations.

In the letter (which must have seemed rather overwhelming to Jim), Charles tries to walk a careful line between practical suggestions, like the weekly letters and field trips, and suggestions about economic theory and processes that will help students "discover" economic principles.

November 28

> Dear Jim,
>
> A letter seems sort of foolish since I see you so often. However, when I return to the office I find that there are so many items that I've never talked to you about. Perhaps this letter will serve as a reminder for some topics of conversation for the future.
>
> First of all, I have observed that you are a very busy, conscientious guy. You teach five courses and have extra-curricular duties such as the student council

and coaching. If I were in your shoes, priorities would be set upon my time, probably on the basis of the amount of enthusiasm that students offered me. If this were the case, the economics course would probably appear far down on the list. This is not an accusation, because I don't know how you set your priorities.

What I am trying to say is that I think you ought consciously to set your own priorities since you are so busy and that economics ought to be very high on the list . . .

I am still interested in trying to develop a unit which deals with economics and might be interesting to the students. We listed some ideas early in the year and it would be fun to talk about these again and see if we have any further ideas.

Earlier I suggested some case studies involving problems of finding a job or buying some large item which would at least ask students to analyze and sort out data, involve some kind of emotion and involve some of the inductive process that we were talking about earlier. But even this is probably too dull. My next thought was that perhaps we could make believe that we're looking for a job or going to buy some large item and actually go on trips to places--a trip that would involve a whole afternoon or a whole morning, stop for coffee and all the conversation that goes along with a free and easy kind of trip. So the last step in this chain of thought involves one or two possible activities.

The first one is that I would write your class a letter every week with some fictitious name asking for some kind of advice about buying a car or refrigerator, finding a job in the area and the students would do some research involving going some places, reading some things, talking to some people, and send me an answer back. The other possibility is to set up a real advisory center for the people in your neighborhood. I will enclose a rough copy of a letter that you might send to townspeople concerning this idea. The idea appeals to me because we would be expanding our economic laboratory to the places where you apply for jobs and the places where you buy things. Also, this kind of experience includes almost everything that is involved in economics, not just how much you pay and where the money goes, but also, in buying a car, whether you like

the looks of a salesman, whether you trust him, how worn the tires are, the cigarette burn in the front seat, how much the rubber matting has worn, is the mileage accurate, does it fit with the amount of wear on the rubber mat on the floor. It probably would involve all kinds of conversations, some nonsense, some very intelligent thought. Even adults don't think rationally all of the time. This kind of experience would also force us to find more items for the economics laboratory back at the school. We simply would need to call somebody or need to find a book or need to find an article, and indeed this experience would be good. Perhaps we would be incapable, but I don't think so. Also, we would be able to ask questions of experts who know more than we do and thereby have their knowledge of economics brought to bear on a specific item and thereby we can learn too. That is, we have a reason to ask questions of experts and apparently there are many around . . . .

Sincerely yours,
Charles

Charles' log continues with an entry about establishing a level of trust in his relationship with Jim.

December 4

When I arrived at the school, Jim and another teacher were cleaning out the teachers' room in preparation for the open house tonight and they were both in a complaining, irritable mood. Jim told me that just everything in general is wrong here today. I can't remember all of the things Jim said--none of them positive--but I listened. Slowly the chain of his thought turned to what he has been doing in his classes, and he told me all sorts of good things that

are happening. He has joined the Community Betterment Council as a result of a newspaper clipping I sent him and has been appointed the liaison between that council and the State Department of Economic Development. He says he really enjoys the work and enjoys meeting the people and talking about the issues.

He told me that he had read a pamphlet that I sent him last week on economics and in the pamphlet they list a number of areas that ought to be studied in a course of practical economics, and that was exactly what he had done last year. I gave him the four SRA units related to economics. He said that he wished we had more time to sit down and talk about these things, and wondered if it would be possible if he could set aside a time every week. I suggested various times and each of these was no good because of his busy schedule and then he asked if we could meet on Saturday mornings, which I think would be very, very good, if he's willing to give that time.

The bell rang and it was time for him to teach his next class, but on the way up he found out that school was going to close in ten minutes, so we made arrangements to go to a restaurant so I could eat my lunch and he could have a cup of tea and we could talk further.

At the restaurant we didn't talk about economics because Jim didn't give me the chance to introduce the subject. He was full of complaints about how the principal doesn't do his work. Jim also complained about the conversation in the teachers' room--how it's always about how bad this kid is or that kid is. He also complained about how many extra duties he has and how most of the staff doesn't do anything like that. He feels that people are stepping on him because if he doesn't make the coffee nobody else will, if he doesn't take the student council, nobody else will, if he doesn't help in athletics, nobody else will. I feel honored that Jim should tell me all this, and at least have somebody to talk to, although I have no idea how one responds to these kinds of complaints, except to sit and listen.

The next entry begins with a long description of a Monopoly-like game about banking that Jim played with his six-student economics class. Charles was invited to join the class and soon began working out a problem in which he became interested.

December 12

I had never been clear as to which kind of checking account was best and it suddenly occurred to me sitting in this atmosphere of learning that the only variable is the number of checks you use, so while the boys and girls were talking I started working out a chart which would permit me to calculate how much it would cost for using 5 checks, 20 checks or 50 checks per month. When I looked up the whole class was watching me and Jim asked me to explain what I was doing. I explained very enthusiastically because here I had learned something I had never known before. The students couldn't follow my thinking and Jim became even more discouraged because his class had been taken totally away from the game.

After the class I apologized to Jim for working out the chart in class and he accepted my apology. However, jokingly I told him that he had taught me something that I had never known before and he denied teaching me something, and that led us into a discussion of how one might learn and how one might teach, and what the role of a teacher is. I won't relate the discussion because I can't remember all that was said, but the point here is that it illustrates how different Jim and I are in our definition of the role of a teacher. He set the stage and I learned. That is teaching.

January 16

Some comments taken from a tape recording of a meeting of the Maine Team. Present at the meeting: The three Team members, a group process consultant, and two EDC-Newton staffers. After lunch, Peter Bins, a principal in one of the schools we're working in, and Jim joined us. (Jim was asked what he thought of the Pilot Communities effort so far.)

JIM: I don't want people around me that are all subtle. I want you to come out and tell me what you want. If somebody has got some ideas we will go down and talk about it. Pilot Communities is snooping around trying to get something into the schools. What the hell is the guy talking about? If--if we want to work on something we got to--to say what we want to happen. You take the approach that you got some nut to crack--that you got to manipulate and I'm getting tired of it!

(Applause)

PROCESS CONSULTANT: How long has it taken you to state it?

JIM: I don't know what the hell the goals of Pilot Communities are yet. I haven't the slightest idea. Somebody should say who the hell is Pilot Communities. Just who are you? What do you want to do? 'Well, we want to enrich the curriculum.' I've been waiting for them to enrich the curriculum--I don't just expect just a bag of tricks.

Jim's outburst points up the slow, and sometimes painful, process of trust-building. After eighteen months of contact with Pilot Communities, and four months of fairly intensive work with Charles, Jim is still not sure what kind of help he can expect from Charles, and Charles is still insisting on his own responsibility not to play expert providing instant solutions. He refuses to be a passive "resource Center" and claims the right to his own judgements.

Six months later Charles reflected on his work with Jim. His comments are germane to anyone who would undertake similar work.

> I learned from the experience about the necessity to identify, first in your own mind, what you are doing, and, second, demand that your client take time to try to understand what he can expect and what he cannot expect. Jim did not really know what to expect and, consequently, dictated the nature of the relationship according to a need he had on a particular day, as well as upon perceptions he had formed about Pilot Communities during the first year. I responded with little understanding of the nature of my role and with too much anxiety about producing results. I should have asked more questions. I should have given less advice.

> Advice given to me, however, such as, "You have to know where he is," or "Be a process technician" from bosses and consultants who I did not know very well was as useless as the advice I offered Jim about teaching economics. Are there consultants capable of providing models of behavior consistent with their advice? Perhaps it is a big "con;" we ask too much of other people and too little of ourselves.
>
> We are not teachers, or principals, or superintendents, or consultants from a local college, but we do work in schools. Our job is new and different, and we work with cautious people. Our role is poorly understood. This is our problem. We compound that problem when we are less than honest with ourselves and our clients about our roles.
>
> Accepting the responsibility to clarify roles and relationships for both my client and myself has been the major lesson learned this year. Even this act is unfamiliar to school people, but the lack of any implicit relationship demands that time be spent doing this so that both parties can begin to overcome the hostility that appears to exist. I see no other way to provide a service without being a servant to an unwanted master.

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE. During the first two years of the Pilot Communities' effort in Maine, the Team members found they could bring valuable resources to teachers in the three isolated target schools; nevertheless, they encountered considerable resistance to change. One reason for the resistance was simply that the Team's energies seemed to be spread too thin. With only one day a week spent in each school, the Team members did not have time to work with all the teachers in each school. The target schools were spread too widely apart to facilitate efficient use of the Team's resources. Each Team member also felt isolated from his Team, and from EDC-Newton. When called in to assist the Team, evaluation personnel talked abstractly about goals, and EDC-Newton administrators interpreted requests for help as criticism of central administration. Team members were confused by frequent changes in EDC-Newton personnel,

and by the continuing inability of EDC to provide access to its own curriculum. In short, Team meetings seemed to confuse Team operations instead of helping the Maine Team function as a cohesive group.

At the end of the second year, several of the teachers expressed disappointment at the failure of Team members to carry through on certain projects. The Maine Team recognized at the end of the second year, they should have continued the contracting process begun so carefully at the outset. Both the Team and the teachers they were working with tended to become absorbed in immediate problems, thereby avoiding larger (and, often, more personal) issues. The Team felt that their role as helpers had not been adequately understood, that "the role of the change agent should be conceived by the staff and perceived by clients not so much to do things for individuals as to help them to do things better for themselves." They felt the need for a continuing, overt discussion of role definitions and expectations, as perceived by them, by their "clients," and by outside observers.

In addition, the Team realized the need to deal more quickly and openly with parental resistance to new programs. At the Tenants Harbor School, new classroom organization for individual learning and non-grading aroused the community, and several well-attended community meetings focused on the parents' fear of too rapid change. Several teachers agreed that they had tried "too much too soon," and that there should be more careful planning and a thorough assessment of progress before new programs were begun. The principal of the school resigned, partly because he felt that the community had not supported him. Through this incident, the Program learned

in Maine, as it was to learn on the other sites, that over-reliance on curriculum change and insufficient attention to educating parents about new methods might result in resistance that could stymie the Team's efforts. The work in the other two schools in Maine met less overt resistance, but was not notably more successful. Teachers were still wary of Team members, partly because two of the three Team members were new.

But the principal reason for this resistance to the Team's efforts in the first two years was failure to meet a necessary pre-condition to change--the dissatisfaction with the status quo. That dissatisfaction must be pervasive; it should be shared by all the constituencies in a system--teachers, parents, administrators, and students. In retrospect it seems clear that such generalized dissatisfaction was not present around the Maine target schools at the beginning of the Team's work in 1967. The Maine Team members were, therefore, operating under a handicap; no matter how well they performed, their presence was not perceived as <u>necessary</u>.

For these and other reasons, the Maine Team discontinued most of its work with individual classroom teachers. The Team personnel changed again, and beginning in the fall of 1969, the program in Maine concentrated on the affective pre-service education of teachers.

The new training program bears little resemblance to the original Maine Team model which used master teachers to work with experienced teachers. The in-the-classroom work has been greatly reduced, to a once-a-month

visit. More significantly, the emphasis in the summer workshop is on encounter-group training. Curriculum materials, considered in 1967 as having a significant change-producing effect in and of themselves, have been subordinated to affective learning.

OPERATING PRINCIPLES (II)

The following lessons from the Pilot Communities experience identify personal characteristics of an effective team leader and a tightly knit team membership.

Operating Principle

TEAM LEADER. A Team needs a leader as a rallying-point for its energies. The initial leader is usually chosen before the other Team members and, therefore, has the choice of a Team as his first task. He also has a heavy responsibility in defining initial objectives that are realizable by the Team. After the initial stages, the leader should continue in his role only by consensus among the Team. He is the principal negotiator for the Team, and he is formally responsible for its day-to-day operations.

Evidence from the Four Sites

Each of the initial Team leaders in the Pilot Communities Program came from outside the four client school systems. EDC chose the initial leaders because of their general familiarity with EDC materials, and because each had a substantive skill (math, evaluation, science) that he could bring to his Team's resource pool. Two initial Team leaders had had experience in group process training; two had taught in classrooms like the ones their Teams would be working in.

On all the sites but Washington, leaders who succeeded the initial leaders were selected by the EDC-Newton staff. The leader for

1969-1971 in Maine came from outside the Team and brought in a special interest in teacher education when the Team shifted its interests in that direction. The Boston leader for the last year was appointed from within the Team, as was the second leader in Bridgeport.

The Washington Team provides a contrast in its selection of leaders. At the end of the first year, the Team elected its own leader from within its ranks. This process of selecting a leader, in and of itself, contributed to the Team's own cohesiveness and sense of efficacy.

Operating Principle

TEAM MEMBERS. Certain characteristics of prospective Team members are imperative:

(1) "Fit" with teachers they are intended to work with. "Fit" means at least similar age, race, and classroom experience.

(2) High intelligence, poise, and self-assurance.

(3) Expertness. Each Team member should have both general classroom competence and skill in a specific area: reading, science, math. Teams "pool" these skills, to train each other, and to help teachers.

(4) Loyalty or Tenacity. If a Team member comes from the school system, and intends to stay within it, he will be a more effective member of a Team working with classroom teachers in that system. His

principal reference group is then his peers in the system.

(5) Likemindedness. There should be general agreement among Team Members as to their philosophies of education and their general approach to educational change.

Evidence from the Four Sites

Without appropriate Team members, a Team will fail. This seems to be self-evident but, time after time, Teams in the Pilot Communities Program were composed of inappropriate members who made already difficult tasks impossible. Selection of appropriate Team members is the leader's most important task.

During the four years of the Program's existence, the Teams and the EDC-Newton staff attempted to adjust the Team membership to accomplish a better fit between the Teams and the teachers they were to work with. During the last year in Maine, for example, the Team was composed of three members. All three had had classroom and administrative experience in Maine schools. One came to the Team from the Maine Department of Education, providing an essential link to the teacher certifying agency. Another had been a principal in one of the schools and served during the Team's initial two years of work with experienced classroom teachers. He knew directly the problems of teachers, new and experienced, and he knew how teachers and principals interact in small, isolated schools. The third, the Team's leader, had had special training in affective training, the principal

activity of the Maine Team in 1969-1971. All three could "speak the language" of teachers in isolated rural schools, and all three agreed on the mission of the Team: the preparation of teachers through encounter group training.

The Washington Team enjoyed the same sort of fit with teachers in the D. C. schools from the very outset. Almost all of its members were black, and all had classroom experience in city schools. Their principal loyalties were to the school system, and most will continue to work in the D.C. schools even if the Team is disbanded at the end of this year. Their loyalty to the system and their common bonds of race and of ideology, arrived at in the crucible of experience, gave the Washington Team a high level of cohesiveness and meant that individual Team members could rely on each other in times of crises.

In contrast, the Bridgeport Team fell apart in crisis. Most members of the Bridgeport Team came from outside the system. Few had had much experience in urban classrooms, and few saw the Bridgeport schools as a long-term "career" employer. The necessary likemindedness and crucial cohesion never arrived.

The Boston Team presents a much more complicated picture. Despite the early commitment to concentrate much of the Team's resources in black schools, only two of the initial Team members were black. Only one initial Team member had any teaching experience in urban schools. Gradually, the Boston Team's membership was changed by recruiting black members, although

none came from the Boston schools, and few had teaching experience in urban schools. The new, black members were intensely committed to educational reform. But none of them had roots in the system. Their "outsideness" aided them in working with black agencies and community schools, and with black parents. But it undercut their effectiveness with classroom teachers, who became less and less their primary clients. Working in a school full of black children with an almost completely white staff, the Boston Team's fit was with the children, not with the teachers. It may well be that the very incongruity of such a school would make it very difficult for any Team to operate successfully in it.

In general, the Pilot Communities experience points up the need for a large proportion of "indigenous" members on Innovation Teams. Teachers who are recruited from a system are almost automatically attuned to the people in that system. They have a better chance of hearing teachers' needs accurately and helping them to new levels of performance.

Change agents should be able to blend into the background. They need to be tuned into the rhythms of the teacher's professional life, able to take part in the small talk of the teachers' room. This is not the only characteristic of a successful change agent, but it is an essential one. There must be time for humaneness around the edges of the task at hand, and that kind of goalless interaction is easier for people roughly similar to each other.

CHAPTER 2

BRIDGEPORT

> Had the principals not been so threatened by their supervisors and so hostile to us, and had we not been so intrusive in our manners and hostile to them, we might have been able to determine a joint course of action. However there was so much antagonism at all levels that reconciliation and orderly sensitive planning of this kind was extremely difficult.
>
> Leader of the
> Bridgeport Innovation Team

The activities of the Pilot Communities Resource Team in Bridgeport followed much the same general pattern as in Maine. The Bridgeport Team started with an exclusive focus on curriculum development. The September, 1967 agreement with the Bridgeport Superintendent of Schools stated: "The Bridgeport schools will jointly share with EDC and the University of Bridgeport, a program involving the redevelopment of various curricula." In fact, the initial emphasis was so narrowly curricular that the Bridgeport School Administration asked a consultant from another organization to help with "the various aspects of school organization, scheduling, teacher assignments, pupil groupings, etc." for the new middle schools. The Pilot Communities Team was told by the Superintendent to avoid extending its activities beyond curriculum study and revision.

This initial reliance on the reform of classroom teaching through the use of curriculum materials was inherited from the Elementary Science Study (E.S.S.), an EDC curriculum development group that had generated many units of science materials for use in elementary school classrooms. Several of the initial Team members at each site, including the first Team leaders in Boston and Washington, had come from E.S.S.

The E.S.S. units depended on the manipulation of simple materials, (Mealworms, Batteries and Bulbs, Pendulums), and their use was greatly facilitated by an open classroom environment--children uncovering principles for themselves instead of passively receiving observations and rules handed down by teachers.

Until 1967, the development and acceptance of the E.S.S. units had been for the most part limited to suburban schools. Like other curriculum "shops" at E.D.C., and like curriculum developers in general, E.S.S. had not penetrated rural or urban public schools by 1967.

Pilot Communities staff would soon find in Bridgeport, as they were finding in Maine, that the dissemination or development of new materials would not be enough.

ENTRY AND CONTRACTING. The first two years of the Program's activity in Bridgeport involved the initiation and development of a Resource Team, similar in its focus on curriculum, but quite different in its operation from the Maine Team. In Maine, the three-man team worked with teachers in three widely-separated small schools. In Bridgeport, the Team consisted of fourteen part-time members who worked with teachers in four elementary schools.

The Bridgeport Team was larger and its organization more complex than the Maine Team and the initial objectives in Bridgeport were far more ambitious. The Bridgeport Team contracted to help the teachers from inner-city schools to prepare new curricula for a new facility--the Read Middle School--which was scheduled to open in March. The Team began work in September and hoped

to complete a major part of its work before the school opened. Given the short time, success in such a venture would have been extraordinary, especially since curricula for the upper elementary grades had been neglected by natio al curriculum-development efforts (like EDC's) which had concentrated on primary and secondary school curricula. A part-time staff, meeting evenings and Saturdays with teachers otherwise carrying a full-time load, could hardly have been expected to develop successful new curricula in six months. Thus, it should come as no surprise that the Team had great difficulties. But the source of the Team's problems went beyond its overly ambitious goals.

As the leader of the Bridgeport Team noted later, two factors had cumulatively negative effect on the Bridgeport Team's activities. First, the initial decisions to contract with the Pilot Communities Program were made quickly without the approval and involvement of either the middle echelon of leadership--the principals and supervisors--or the teachers. Neither group was consulted until late in the summer, and then in the context of large, formal planning sessions. By then, the contract was a fait accompli; teachers could not formally object even if they opposed the idea. In essence, they were told to use consultants whether they wanted them or not.

Contrast the slow and careful entry process in Maine. There, target schools were selected only after teachers and principals generated their own requests for assistance during a summer workshop. And, even after schools in Maine were chosen, individual teachers had the right to choose not to invite Team members into their classrooms.

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT. Second, the top Bridgeport administrators were never united in support of the EDC project. The Superintendent and his assistant

were far more enthusiastic about the proposed project than were the Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education and the Supervisor of Elementary Curriculum. (The leader of the Bridgeport Team did not know this until months later.)

The Bridgeport Team needed a stable relationship with the upper echelons of the School Department. This did not really materialize until the initial Team had been disbanded and several new projects started. The Team's leader cited an example of the kind of confrontation and conflict that materialized early in the project:

> At our monthly Team meetings we had begun to plan for an on-site involvement with teachers at Read School to replace the workshops. Our unanimous opinion was that a resource center in this school, preferably an extension of the library, would serve admirably as a base for Team activities at Read. Much to our surprise, the request was turned down because of lack of space and we were offered some closet where we could keep our materials. The first day of school, the school librarian, without checking with her superiors (the Chief Librarian and the Principals) suggested that we try to use the library as a resource center. Commenting that she would not be able to help us because of an impending hospitalization, she asked that we hold off any planning until her return.
>
> At this point an EDC-Newton staffer and I disagreed. His immediate response to the Librarian's request was to begin immediately. My own recommendation was to wait until she returned, then to enlist the aid of the Principals and the Superintendents in granting the use of the Library as a resource center. He decided to move on his own and he stocked a corner of the unused Library and rear consultation room with our books and materials. In twenty-four hours the repercussions were felt. The Superintendent of Elementary Education, the Chief Librarian and the Principals complained to the Superintendent that we had ignored their specific requests about the storage of our materials. Thereupon, we returned the material to the closets.

This incident illustrates several characteristic problems of the Bridgeport

Team. The Team's leader and EDC-Newton staff disagreed about the desirability of confrontation. In general, the Bridgeport Team leader wanted to follow a softer, less challenging line, and several of the EDC-Newton staff often tried to press him to assert the Team's needs more forcefully. In taking the more aggressive position in this case, however, the EDC Newton staffer pre-empted the authority of the Team leader, leaving him to handle a problem that was not of the Team's making. In addition, such a direct and unilateral challenge to the librarian's superiors fostered unnecessary stress between the Team and the top administration of the School Department.

As time went on in the Read School project, disagreements like this one greatly affected the process of joint planning. The Team leader, seeing ever-widening gulfs between the Resource Team and the administration, suggested to the Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education that they try to bring the entire staff of the new school together early in the fall. She told him, in a briskly-worded note, that plans were "nicely under way." He inquired then how the Team was to be involved in those meetings and, when he was informed that the Pilot Communities effort was not on the agenda of the first meeting, he asked to be invited to make some comments on future plans. According to the Team leader:

> The meeting itself was extraordinary because the principals obviously had no responsibility other than to serve refreshments. After an introductory remark by the superintendents, the Superintendent of Elementary Education took over the meeting, reading off the items she had listed for the teachers, most of them relating to the logistics of the school move. Just before the meeting ended I was called on to make a few remarks. The following day I spoke to the Superintendent and the Superintendent for Elementary Education to request that at least half of the next planning session be devoted to a discussion of EDC's role in the school.

A meeting some days later focused on the Team's role in the Read operation. Several Pilot Communities observers were convinced that the Bridgeport Team was doomed to impotence. They told the Team's leader that the Resource Team had made no inroads, and that the Team would do better to clear out of Bridgeport and put its efforts elsewhere.

Tensions between the Team and administrators on several levels in the system continued after the Read School opened in March. This conflict on the upper levels led to haphazard planning and poor morale among the teachers, who were disturbed by over-crowded classes, inadequate books and materials, undisciplined children, and a general lack of appropriate rules and regulations. The teachers could not turn to the principals for help because the principals were caught between the struggles on the upper levels. The lack of communication between the teachers and principals was further aggravated by the lack of communication and substantive disagreements between the Resource Team and the upper echelon of the school system's administration.

As the teachers turned to the Resource Team for assistance, these disagreements with the administration became more intense. From the point of view of the top administration, any alliance between the members and teachers could be viewed as a form of sabotage. Before long, the Team and its leader received a series of instructions from the central office designed to remind the Team members that they were the "guests" of the principals, "to observe and to assist," but not to teach. Such an admonition defeated the initial notion of "master teachers." The leader met with the Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education, pointing out that they needed as much flexibility in exchanges with the teachers as possible, including the freedom to use demonstration teaching. But the relationship between the

Resource Team and the principals became even more estranged. The Team leader said later that:

> had the principals not been so threatened by their supervisors and so hostile to us, and had we not been so intrusive in our manners and hostile to them, we might have been able to determine a joint course of action. However, there was so much antagonism at all levels that reconciliation and orderly sensitive planning of this kind was extremely difficult.

In another incident during the Summer Institute of 1968, one of the young teachers, considered inexperienced by the older staff members, asked a question of a consultant. The question was immediately challenged by the Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education. Confused by the challenge, the young teacher turned to the consultant. He, however, sided with the Assistant Superintendent. As a result of that incident, the Team's influence with the teachers continued to decline.

In retrospect, the Team's initial failure to gain solid support from all the administrators, not just the Superintendent, probably doomed the project from the start. Because staffing new middle schools was at the center of Bridgeport's efforts at innovation, an unusual degree of day-to-day involvement of the top administration was necessary. However, the top administrators had not participated in the initial negotiations with Pilot Communities, and it seems that they never fully approved of the Team. They thus felt that the Team was intruding in areas that were their responsibility. Since the Team was, by definition, a temporary phenomenon in the system, the principals and teachers whether or not they agreed with the Team were far more likely to side with the permanent staff.

TEAM MEMBERS AND TEAM OPERATIONS. The inclination to disagree with the Team in times of stress and side with the "permanent" system was reinforced by the make-up of the Team. Only three of the fourteen part-time members came to the Team from the school system--and they were not typical urban teachers, but curriculum specialists from the Bridgeport Title I staff. The rest of the Team were "outsiders:" four were curriculum specialists on the faculty of the University of Bridgeport, and the others were recruited from school systems in suburban Connecticut, EDC staff in Newton, and Bridgeport's anti-poverty program. None had had extensive experience teaching in urban schools.

The newly-recruited Team arranged to meet the Bridgeport teachers through two large curriculum conferences. Forty Bridgeport teachers and supervisors attended the first meeting, which introduced them to some of the ideas, materials, and facilities at EDC. Almost one hundred came to the second meeting in September. By then the Team members had decided to divide into four sub-teams, each concerned with a major traditional curriculum area: Social Studies, Science, Math, and Reading. As an outgrowth of the second meeting, regularly scheduled workshops to explore new ways and new materials were arranged by each curriculum sub-team. In order to encourage participation, the meetings were held after school hours (evenings and Saturday mornings) and stipends were paid to those who attended; nevertheless, problems arose. As the Team's leader wrote:

> This probably created fantasies about the extent of EDC's power and influence in the system. What else could the teachers have thought? The New Haven venture was exceedingly extravagant, set off by a luncheon, and the visit to EDC included hotel accommodations for all. Curriculum workshops under EDC's sponsorship, unlike any others in Bridgeport's

> school system history, were not only voluntary but included a stipend. It wasn't until the middle of October that the Resource Team realized that the new budget, to take effect December 1, 1967, would permit no such generosities as had been encouraged up to then. The teachers were informed that the new budget would only permit stipends to be paid through December. It is hard to say, of course, just how the total Team effort was affected by the change, but there is no question that workshop attendance suffered.

In the fall and winter prior to the opening of the Read School, the workshop-seminars continued. The Science group, composed largely of the Science teachers from the feeder elementary schools, examined various ESS units that had proven highly successful with upper elementary grades. Only a few of the teachers tried out these units in their classrooms, but for the most part, the feedback indicated that when they felt comfortable with a unit, the children were interested and responsive. The participants in the Math workshop became immersed in two-hour sessions on the application of the geo-board, Cuisennaire Rods, and other devices for presenting basic arithmetic problems. Most of the Social Studies seminars were lectures, with guest speakers presenting their various wares. This exploration of different Social Studies schemes was what the teachers said they wanted, and attendance at these monthly Saturday mornings was usually very good.

The English-Reading workshops held at Bridgeport University on Saturdays were equally well-attended. An EDC-Newton staffer acted as chairman of these sessions leaving the team with a head in Boston and a body in Bridgeport. Although the other members of the sub-team were able to meet with one another frequently, they were only able to plan briefly with the chairman. The English-Reading workshops were inconsistent in quality and

lacked a clear point of view.

The transition from the workshop-seminars to the on-site work in the new Read School classroom differed greatly from one curriculum area to another. The Math specialist, who came to the team with considerable experience as a trainer and curriculum developer, managed the transition from the workshop to the classroom well; her workshop members arrived at school with a clear notion of what they had to do and how they might help develop an overall curriculum. Moreover, because of their well-defined tasks, this group had less time to become preoccupied with conflicts within the system, and the Math specialist was able to maintain status with the administration as well as with the staff. Similarly, although the English-Reading workshops had not been notably successful, the Reading Specialist, once she was in the school, quickly responded to the reading problems in the new school and was soon being sought out for help.

As for Science, the Supervisor of Elementary Curriculum could establish no clear agreements on how the ESS and other units would be part of the new curriculum. The Seience teachers had some difficulty integrating content with the techniques of open inquiry, although they were probably among the best teachers in the school.

The progress of the Social Studies curriculum group was, perhaps the most difficult to assess. The curriculum consultant in this area outlined an ambitious curriculum, but could not clearly identify its components in operational terms. The teachers were unable to make use of the projected outline. This group also failed to develop black history curricula, even though that area had high priority in the Read Middle School.

TEAM OPERATIONS--INTERNAL. One important principle can be drawn from the experiences of the Bridgeport Resource Team: team-building should be started very early. The central sense of identity of a Team should transcend the particular concerns of individual curriculum groups. The Bridgeport Team never arrived at an articulated point of view about educational change on an agreement on strategies to effect that change. The welding of the various resource persons and sub-teams into a real Team did not effectively occur.

By the end of the first year, the disagreements about values and objectives crystallized in the planning of the Summer Institute; there it became quite obvious that serious differences existed between the members of the Team from the University of Bridgeport and the members who were either directly hired by EDC or from the Title I staff of the Bridgeport Public School System. From that point on, the concept of a true Team existed in name only.

The leader and the Resource Team hoped that the Summer Institute of 1968 could pull the Read staff together by making them assume joint responsibility for the creation of a curriculum. But this program was planned without involving the principals and teachers and, once again, this omission undermined the crucial point of mutual cooperation. In addition, the appointment of two Team members as co-directors of the Institute limited the possibilities of open exchange between the Resource Team and those with whom they were trying to re-establish a cooperative relationship.

TEAM LEADER. There was much discontent about the quality of the leadership of the Project. Because of the "in-house" power struggles which occurred,

it is difficult to ascertain the true basis for the discontent. The question is whether the source of discontent was the actual leadership or whether it was a desire, present from the beginning, to take over the leadership. Discontent over the leadership of the Project was voiced not only in Bridgeport, but also by the EDC administration in Newton, Massachusetts.

In addition, some of the Team members wanted much stronger leadership. When the leader did not respond, the Team was easily split into factions, each with its own leader. When the splits in the group began to develop, the Team would have been helped if the leader had taken a stronger role to weld them back together. Change agent teams must confront and resolve differences if they are to work towards agreed-upon objectives.

After the 1968 Summer Institute, the Team gradually reduced its activities at the Read School. The Team leader resigned in March, 1969. The Math specialist assumed the leadership of the Team for the remainder of the year and stayed on during the following school year, 1969-70, as the only remaining Bridgeport Team member. Her work was considered highly successful.

EAST SIDE MIDDLE SCHOOL. During the second year, the Read Middle School project was gradually de-emphasized, but more and more support was requested by the principal of another new school--the East Side Middle School. He was uncomfortable with the relations that had existed at Read School between Resource Team members and the teachers. Thus, when a new two-man Team arrived at East Side Middle School in the fall of 1968, the principal and the new Team organized a planning committee including parents, members of community organizations, teachers, members of the Model Cities Educational Task Force, members of the

EDC Bridgeport Pilot Communities project, and representatives from the University of Bridgeport and Housatonic College. There were two representatives from EDC, both from the EDC-Newton office, both new to the Bridgeport scene. They saw their relationship to the principal as resource people who would help facilitate the planning of the school. The principal was pleased that these representatives did not plan to follow the team model established in the work with Read Middle School faculty.

After planning by the principal and the large committee, groups drawn from the community and the EDC Resource Team held a six-week summer workshop in July and August, 1969. This workshop was seen as a starting point rather than a workshop to draw conclusive decisions. The work started during the summer was continued in the following school year, in an ongoing, in-service training program for both teacher aides and teachers.

In addition, during that school year, EDC-Newton staff assisted the Superintendent in an abortive attempt to develop a decentralized district. A large portion of EDC's Bridgeport activity in 1969-70 was directed toward "consultation and training of the Bridgeport school administration" and "assistance with developing and training the community for accepting the ideas of a Model School Division."

SUMMARY. We have already noted the growing awareness that the provision of new curriculum materials alone would do relatively little to change teachers' attitudes. After the first two years of the Program, the shifts in Maine to pre-service education, and in Bridgeport to planning activities with administrators and community representatives, were partially justified

in reports written by Program staff that described the apparent difficulty of encouraging change through curriculum.

But a reader of those reports is nagged by the "what-if?". What if from the beginning, the Bridgeport Schools had provided release time and substitutes and/or extra payments for teachers engaged in developing new curricula? What if the Bridgeport Team had really confronted its internal difficulties, examined its own fragmentation, and forged some common objectives?

From the beginning there had been a healthy and pervasive dissatisfaction with the schools in Bridgeport, a necessary pre-condition to improvement. The new middle schools were planned to "integrate" the city, and elementary teachers knew they needed to be prepared to teach in them. Furthermore, "the community" was willing both to criticize and to pitch in its lot with reform. This is not to say that the needs were universally understood or admitted, nor that the "solutions" were all agreed upon. Indeed, two top administrators strongly disagreed with many of the ideas generated by the Team, and perhaps with its very existence. But the failure of the Bridgeport Team as a whole cannot be attributed to general unreadiness for change.

The resources in Bridgeport also seem to have been spread far too thin. The Bridgeport Team was essentially on its own financially; there was little local support. Substitutes and release time were not provided in the first and second years. One suspects that EDC should have driven a much harder bargain--the Read Middle School cost millions of dollars, but the Bridgeport Public Schools were apparently reluctant to spend a cent to prepare teachers to teach in it.

OPERATING PRINCIPLES (III)

The following lessons from the Pilot Communities experience describe the need for continuous rethinking and renegotiation both internally among team members and externally between the team and the client system.

Operating Principle

CONTRACTING. The process of contracting, or making and remaking agreements between the Team and its "clients " never stops. The agreements are equivalent to solutions to the dissatisfactions people have expressed with the school system. These agreements must be clear and specific at every stage, and, from the beginning, there must be formally built-in procedures for periodic renegotiation.

Evidence from the Four Sites

In the case of the Pilot Communities Program in Maine, a year-long process of contracting and goal-setting resulted in a lengthy and elaborate needs-census that established the initial objectives of the Maine Team. Equally important, the initial contracting process in Maine engaged all the teachers and administrators in the target schools before the Team was finally formed. Considerable lack of clarity over later agreements between individual teachers and members of the Maine Team continued throughout the first two years of the project. During the second year, the Team found it necessary to distribute a paper which stated

its basic assumptions and "some of the beliefs held by EDC personnel." But, in comparison to much of the work on the other sites, the Maine Team's tasks and priorities were clearly, fully, and repeatedly stated.

In Bridgeport, in contrast, the initial contracting process in the Read Middle School project was severely truncated. Teachers and principals were involved at the last moment, which was too late. As one evaluator said, "Teachers were expected to become involved in the program with no clear and specific details as to what part they might play in its development." A more careful planning process in Bridgeport might also have protected the Team from agreeing to objectives that were obviously impossible to meet. The initial contracting process in Boston was also too quick, and it involved too few people on both sides.

In a change project like the Pilot Communities Program, the process of making agreements never stops. In some change projects, the change agents can be held accountable for their agreements, as they are in most performance contracting schemes. At the other extreme, some change projects operate with exceedingly open agreements: a group of change agents is simply engaged to hang around and be useful. Government sponsored programs like the Peace Corps and Vista come closer to this extreme.

The Pilot Communities Teams operated somewhere between these extremes. The Teams did not "guarantee" to improve teacher or student performance. On the other hand, they never acted as free agents, coming and going as they pleased with no accountability to their clients. From the beginning, the more successful Teams were in constant negotiation making and re-making agreements, with the individuals and groups

This continuing contracting process was based on the assumption that Team members should declare their own needs and interests to the people they sought to work with. They were not merely facilitators, or deliverymen for new curriculum materials, but they tried to establish a genuinely collegial relationship in which both parties could respect the rights and biases of the other. Even after the elaborate early negotiations in Maine, Team members there were accused of hiding their real intentions, of manipulating the people they were working with. Since EDC did have a point of view about student-centered discovery learning, it was important for individual Team members to articulate that point of view, when it was appropriate. Insisting that teachers "discover"--the discovery method makes the teachers' task almost impossible.

Such an overt, rationalized contracting process might imply that Team members must know themselves, and each other, perfectly before they engage to work with clients. But

such perfection is obviously impossible, and probably undesirable. Team members were not always able to see themselves clearly, and their motives and beliefs underwent constant growth. Furthermore, their motivations were not always neatly congruent with those of their client-teachers. In Washington, for example, they wanted to "humanize" the system, but some teachers persisted in seeing them primarily as deliverymen for new materials. What seemed best, as a general principle on all four sites, was a recurring process of setting objectives, with review dates set well in advance.

Contracting and reviewing objectives are not processes accomplished solely between individual Team members and individual teachers. They can involve the whole Team or sub-teams on the one hand, and school boards, parents, funding sources, or evaluators on the other. In Maine, the Team leader declared and defended his Team's objectives in a hot exchange of articles with a critic in a local newspaper. Teams in the Pilot Communities Program were continuously subjected to internal and external evaluations and reported frequently to EDC-Newton and the U.S. Office of Education. Each explanation and defense of objectives can lead to changes in a Team's strategies, and new contracts with the school system, building principles, or teachers.

Operating Principle

TEAM-BUILDING AND PLANNING. Team members must make a conscious effort in building a Team, and it must continue to grow. Its members must confront each other when necessary, lock horns on problems, make decisions, and keep moving.

Evidence from the Four Sites

The brief excerpts in the Maine log, from a meeting of a Team with teachers and principals from the target schools exemplify one sort of team-building practiced by all the Teams in the Pilot Communities Program. Each Team met for as much as a day a week to examine its activities, join in group training exercises which were often presented by EDC-Newton staff, and "take the temperature" of its efforts in the schools. Most of the Teams used external group process consultlants during these introspective meetings to aid their self-analysis.

As the Bridgeport narrative demonstrates, a Team runs the risk of failure if it fails to join problematic issues squarely. A principal function of a Team leader is to force internal or external confrontation when it is necessary, and to lead the Team in working through disagreements towards resolution. The Bridgeport Team avoided disagreements temporarily by permanently sub-dividing its activities. But this compartmentalization destroyed the possibility of developing Team consensus on educational philosophy and strategy, not to mention facing crises as a Team with a united front.

Sub-dividing for specific short-term tasks was an important component of each Team's internal process, however. For example, during the third year, the Boston Team divided into several groups, each with a detailed mission. The Washington Team began its work with teachers in pairs and trios, so that each Team member could learn the others' strengths and weaknesses, skills, and difficulties. Like training in process analysis, pairing became less important over time. But grouping and re-grouping of small task forces around specific, short-term problems continued.

Each Team was continuously engaged in its own in-service training. Team members attended institutes and conferences, visited experimental schools, took courses at universities, and watched each other lead workshops. They also lectured, ran seminars and consulted. EDC-Newton was an especially valuable resource for this refueling process.

CHAPTER 3

BOSTON

> I wanted to make classrooms a little less structured, make school experiences for young people a lot more pleasant. . . so they wanted to be in school and wanted to learn. I wanted to do something about getting more black teachers and black people into the schools so that they really understood what was going on with their kids. . .
>
> Leader of the
> Boston Innovation Team

Over four years, more Pilot Communities' funds were spent in Boston than in the other three cities combined -- almost $900,000. The Boston Team's effort represents a wider range of approaches to educational change than that of any other Team. The project began with dissemination of curriculum materials and later expanded its efforts to include assistance in the development of a private "community school", working with teacher-training institutions and enlisting parents to assist in the education of their children at a public school. The Resource Team in Boston was similar to the Washington Innovation Team effort in scale and duration; nonetheless, differences were numerous and profound.

A fundamental difference between the Washington and Boston Team operations was staff development and Team growth. During the four years of Pilot Communities activities, the personnel of the Washington Team remained essentially intact, but the Boston Team changed almost completely.

Thus, an account of the Washington Team must tell about a group of people committed to educational change who became a choesive, strong, confident and competent Team. An account of the Boston Team, on the other hand, must tell about several "generations" of Team members. Attempts to select Team members who could be effective in helping teachers in the target schools and who could work together as a Team consumed much more energy in Boston than in Washington. We will, therefore, chart the development of the Boston Team year by year, including both Team activities and changes in Team structure and personnel.

TEAM MEMBERS. The initial Team members were expected to improve teaching through the use of curricular materials that were innovative and stimulating to teachers and students. The Team's focus, then, was on the public school system in general, the classroom in particular. The original Team, like the initial Teams in Maine and Bridgeport, consisted of nine master teachers whose skills were in creative teaching and innovative curriculum management.

Only one member of the original Boston Team had taught in urban schools. Ironically, she was assigned to organize a Resource Center, and not to work directly with teachers. Another member, who was one of two blacks on the Team, had had extensive inner-city experience in community educational ventures outside the public schools. The rest of the Team was white -- either quite young, with little or no classroom teaching experience, or older, with suburban teaching experience. The half-dozen older

members of the Team had worked on EDC curriculum projects. This initial Boston Team was an"outside" Team, composed of people from outside the Boston Public Schools. There was also relatively little ethnic "fit" between them and the predominantly Irish teachers they were to work with in South Boston or the black children in the black target schools.

PRECONDITIONS FOR CHANGE AND ENTRY. In the three years that preceded the Boston Teams' formation, several local universities had mounted change programs intended to reform education in the Boston Public Schools. The programs seemed to have little effect, and the universities quickly retreated. With this discouraging knowledge, the Boston Team began to plan its entry around a conscious commitment to "stick it out". The tone of this commitment is captured in the report of the first year's activities:

> It was part of our internal thinking about the program that we would not, must not, pull out. . . If we had problems difficult to solve, if we had to revise the direction of our effort, we would be tenacious about maintaning our presence working through our problems.

After visiting several schools, the Pilot Communities' planning staff decided to focus on:

1. the Andrew School District in South Boston, whose lower-class white students were mostly Irish
2. the Dearborn School District in Roxbury, whose students were mostly lower-class blacks
3. the Boardman School in Roxbury, with mostly black students
4. the development of a Resource Center to service public

school teachers and parents of the two private "community schools" just starting in Roxbury

An important precondition for change in any system is dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. This precondition was met dramatically in the Roxbury community where dissaffection with the public school system had already produced these community schools. Roxbury citizens were especially incensed at the almost complete absence of black teachers in the public schools. In South Boston, on the other hand, teachers, principals, parents, and children were racially and ethnically homogeneous. Dissatisfaction there, if it existed at all, was never proclaimed to people from outside the immediate community.

Teachers in the target schools played no part in the entry process in Boston, and there was no summer workshop preceding the Boston Team's arrival on the scene in the fall of 1967. As in Bridgeport, this initial lack of attention to the teachers' needs undercut the effectiveness of the Boston Team's early efforts.

INTERACTION WITH TEACHERS -- ANDREW AND DEARBORN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. The Team's leader visited the Andrew School regularly, demonstrating the use of E.S.S. materials to three science classes and teaching the classes twice a week. As the year progressed, she began teaching once a week, leaving the other class to the regular classroom teacher. By the end of the year,

the regular teachers were doing all of the teaching and she visited classes only as a consultant. Another Team member worked in arithmetic with a sixth grade class of below-average skills. She demonstrated use of Cuisenaire Rods, geo-boards, and other kinds of manipulative materials.

The principal of the Andrew District, described by one Team member as an "intelligent woman who exercises strong control over her three schools," determined the extent and location of the Team's activities in her schools. The principal was openly warm and receptive, but there remained a core resistance to fundamental changes, not only in teaching and curriculum but basic attitudes toward education. The Team's potential effect on education in the Andrew District was clearly circumscribed from the very beginning. Although they started with basic science and math materials, Team members planned eventually to include social studies and a special reading program already being used in Roxbury.

Pilot Communities programs in the three buildings that made up the Dearborn District -- Albert Palmer, Dearborn Elementary, and Dearborn Annex -- represented the greatest involvement in staff and materials that EDC made in any Boston school from 1967 to the present.

One of the most extensive and important Pilot Community activities in the

Dearborn District was Dr. Nancy Curtis' reading program. As a continuation of her work in the Roxbury Basic Reading Program, Dr. Curtis trained aides to teach individual children or small groups of children to read. The importance of this work was not simply in teaching children to read, but in getting adults who were not teachers involved in the education of children. This focus became an increasingly important part of the Boston Team's activities.

By mid-November, 1967, 12 aides were teaching reading in the Palmer School to 55 kindergarten and first-grade children. In 25 hours of training sessions the aides (suburban volunteers and paid community people) were taught Unified Phonics and given instruction in how to teach this method of reading to young children. The program was highly structured and emphasized direct teaching of children as opposed to the more open-ended discovery methods.

Each aide worked with three to five children two days a week for one hour each day. The usual discipline problems and the problem of matching the teaching program to the needs of individual children were encountered at first. As the aides became more confident in their teaching abilities, they were more flexible in their techniques and were thus able to alter the material to fit children's needs.

In the spring of 1968, eleven aides began teaching reading to two sixth-grade

classes in the Dearborn School. This program had the basic aims of "helping the children improve in the basic reading skills of critical and evaluative reading, reference skills and vocabulary, and, in addition, working with the children on special projects designed to encourage utilization of the reading skills and to develop an interest in wide-range reading".

With the exception of the reading programs, Team activities in the Dearborn schools were primarily supportive of ongoing classes. Team members were "extra persons" in the classrooms who attempted to expand the classroom experience. One Team member worked in a second-grade classroom with Cuisenaire Rods. Another, from EDC's Photography Laboratory, provided fourth-grade children with small cheap cameras; children took pictures and developed and printed them. The products were used to stimulate student writing. From the beginning, involvement with the teachers was sporadic. Some teachers even resisted watching the Team members' "demonstrations". Others treated the Team members as useful extra hands to have in the classroom --but not essential. Excerpts from one log exemplify the feelings of Team members about their roles as extras in the classroom:

> I felt the tenor of my relations with most of the faculty was quite good, relaxed, friendly, noncombative, except when people's anxieties were aroused about the intent of EDC in general. However, these friendly relations did not lead to very much change in the classrooms of the teachers in question. One teacher invited me to work with her every day. Over the two months or so there was maybe a marginal overall improvement in the way the class went. Occasionally we had a very successful day when the kids and we were relaxed but not chaotic, and when most of them took one of the options (SRA, library, etc.) and did something during the period, but not too often. . . She did not feel comfortable letting things get beyond a certain point. She was in the position of not being able to put her ideas into practice, and my coming helped her to do a few things

> but not really to change the scene. . . Another class was taught by the music teacher. Once I got the library started there, I hoped to work with them last period Fridays, doing poetry -- something that he had suggested. I became discouraged by his continually leaving the room when I came to take the class. I should say angry rather than discouraged -- this being one of the cases where I couldn't express my actual feeling!! I think Pilot Communities runs the risk of acting irresponsibly in a place like the Dearborn, because it is not we but the regular staff who have to live with what we have created. To say nothing of the kids who find totally different norms of behavior from one class to the next.

These excerpts capture a great deal of the early strategies and relationships in the Boston Team operations. Team members were interested in improving classroom teaching but were cautious about trying to change teachers. They, therefore, chose a middle course -- demonstration teaching -- and hoped the teachers would learn from watching. But, when the regular teacher left the room, even the possibility of demonstration was undercut.

We can imagine the feelings on both sides of the dialogue that seldom occurred:

> Team Member: I know how a good class should be run. I will demonstrate for you. If you watch and copy what I do, you too can run a good classroom.
>
> Teacher: I realize my classes could be run better, but I'm no fool. Who does she think she is, the perfect teacher? If she wants to be a big deal, let her. I'll use the time to relax.

But the Team members' attitudes went even further. They seemed to believe that they could make the changes, and that smart teachers would then adopt them.

The teachers' resistances to this "demonstration mode" of change probably originated in faulty handling of the whole entry process. They had not been consulted in the selection of their schools as target schools. So, from the beginning, many were suspicious of the Team. Their "wait-and-see" attitude reinforced the ineffectiveness of demonstration teaching unaccompanied by overt discussion of differences in teaching style and educational philosophy. The Team had backed itself into an unproductive set of contracts with teachers, contracts that allowed Team members and teachers none of the essential dialogue about change.

THE RESOURCE CENTER. Also located in Roxbury, the Resource Center "was originally conceived as a teacher advisory center with responsibilities for working with the community especially in connection with school programs". The Center opened in December, 1967 with an exhibit on reading and language. During the spring of 1968, the Center sponsored a number of activities: four all-day reading workshops directed by educators from local colleges; a series of weekly workshops in mathematics, science, tri-wall carpentry, and education films; a library of teaching materials; a gathering place for many young people in the community; and a center for a variety of people including interns from pre-service teacher-training programs, Peace Corps trainees, and community adults.

The Resource Center became increasingly responsive to the children in the community. The summer of 1968 saw some Head-Start classes, a summer school, a community consumer group workshop, a T-group workshop with new teachers from the Highland Park Free School, and a Drop-In Center instituted with

the help of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Although the Pilot Communities Team did not sponsor all of these activities, the Team felt that "the whole tone of the activities and the ways people met and talked with each other had a cohesiveness and unity that can only be ascribed to the continuity and responsiveness of the staff of both Hawthorne House (a community center) and Pilot Communities who were on hand".

COMMUNITY SCHOOLS. In 1967-68, much of the Team's work outside of the public schools was concentrated in a private community school, the New School for Children in Roxbury. The school had been started without careful curriculum study, and the Resource Team had difficulty communicating with the New School's staff about matters of curriculum. Team members visited classes, held discussions with the teaching staff, and conducted several small workshops. At the end of the 1967-68 year, one Team member left the team to become Headmistress of the New School. The Team planned to continue assisting the New School with workshops, materials, and seminars. Similar support was also planned for the Roxbury Community School.

Of considerably more interest and commitment was the Team's help in establishing a third community school, the Highland Park Free School. Plans were made to hire a principal, train teachers, and conduct seminars on education with parents and other people from the community.*

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*A detailed account of the Boston Team's relations with the Highland Park Free School, is available in another publication of the Pilot Communities Program. Richard B. Griffin, The Highland Park Free School and Education Development Center: Uneasy Partnership in Community Education, Education Development Center, Newton, Massachusetts, 1971.

The Boston Resource Center reading program and the involvement with community schools represented a community-center orientation toward education that was different from EDC's usual school-centered orientation.

By the end of the first year, the Boston Team recognized the need to change its staff and modes of operation. It needed to develop new modes of relationship with teachers, modes that would help both Team members and teachers to confront their differences and respect each other. The Team's increasing priority on work in the black community and outside the schools called for new black community-oriented Team members. Finally, the Team needed a more thorough knowledge of the Boston school bureaucracy if it was to begin working effectively with teachers. These needs were summarized in the Team's end-of-year report:

> There is an underlying effort necessary in building a foundation both for the development of new programs and for ongoing work in seminars and workshops. . . We must, for example, build an intricate knowledge of Boston's bureaucracy and its divisions of responsibility. We must identify problems as we go along, both our own and those which teachers and administrators in the Boston schools conceive to be their concern. . . We must be constantly building staff, both recruiting new members or replacements and continuing a program of development of skills.

TEAM OPERATIONS (1968-69). During the second year, the Boston Resource Team experienced many political and personality conflicts within the Team, and between Team members and the EDC-Newton leadership. Although the various curriculum and teacher workshop projects continued, the more important Team activities concerned trying to reconcile the different personalities, goals, and styles of team members.

During the year, the white female Team leader was replaced by a black male, and the director of the overall Pilot Communities Program was replaced by a second director, who in turn was replaced by a triumvirate. In the spring, the triumvirate was replaced by still another director. This kind of political instability at EDC-Newton did not facilitate the Boston Team's efforts in the Dearborn and Andrew schools.

A major effort of the Boston Team in its second year was the direction it gave to a summer session of the newly formed Highland Park Free School, an experiment in community education. The difficulties of this summer workshop were not unlike the kinds of problems often voiced by teachers who worked with Teams at all four sites. Toward the end of the summer workshop, teachers criticized the "lack of articulated philosophy and goals, lack of cohesiveness and warmth, lack of background in content, and the black-white problem". The black-white problem was confronted directly when two consultants came to talk with the teachers. The black teachers and white teachers met separately with the consultants and "the meeting of the white teachers proved to be quite traumatic, since their intentions and effectiveness in teaching in a predominantly black school were questioned. The meeting of the black teachers, on the other hand, seemed to strengthen their feeling of worth and potential".

In spite of these many sources of conflict and tension, one evaluator wrote:

> When compared to the public schools to which the children and parents were accustomed, the summer school would receive a higher rating than when compared to the expectations of those who wrote the proposal. The many visitors found children and teachers happily working together and made many positive comments concerning the climate of the school. Many children arrived in the morning before the teachers, and to my knowledge no child came against his will.

The Highland Park Free School officiallygot under way in the fall following the summer workshop. The school is still in operation and has grown. Although it continues to face severe money problems, it has served the community well. There is a new principal, and all the teachers are now black. Although the Boston Team may have attempted to purvey curriculum and methods that may not have been appropriate, it may have been just the right group at the right time to give the impetus needed to launch the school. The school could stand as one of the Boston Team's most notable achievements in educational change.

An important event of the second year was the appointment of a black male to take over the leadership of the Team. A shift in focus, implicit in the choice, was expressed by the new leader this way:

> (I want) to make classrooms a little less structured make school experiences for young people a lot more pleasant ones so they wanted to be in school and wanted to learn. (I) wanted to do something about getting more black teachers and black people into the schools so that they really understood what was going on with their kids and make it a more human place for the kids.

The new leader reflected a trend away from the earlier concentration on curriculum. There was not an abrupt shift, but his interest in black teachers and community people coincided with the Team's earlier commitment to parent involvement. During the 1969-70 year this shift was discussed openly and was a source of contention within the Team.

TEAM OPERATIONS (1969-70): The perfunctory entry process and minimal contractual arrangements that had accompanied the initiation of the Resource Team in Boston contributed to the confused course it followed. The original task was not clearly set; the initial goals were vague.

Boston was chosen primarily because of its proximity to EDC in Newton. The selection of the two school districts were apparently based on a desire to work with what appeared to be a powerful, white, South Boston constituency and a problematic, black Roxbury constituency. The major criteria were, therefore, political and sociological, not educational. These criteria were involved in the other site selections also, but nowhere as forcefully as in Boston. Thus, many of the Team's activities over the four years were in response to social and political pressures from various sectors of the constituency. In addition, these same factors exerted strong influence on the Team's internal operations.

On the other sites, fairly clear objectives were charted and activities were geared toward achieving them. The goals were pursued until completion (Washington) or until blocked, at which point new directions emerged (Maine), or the project was terminated (Bridgeport). But the activities of the Boston Team were significantly determined by political pressures until the final year (1970-71) when a reassessment and regrouping resulted in an equilibrium of sorts, and the Team was able to identify and pursue a goal of its own choosing.

Planning for the 1969 school year began with a Summer Institute for forty teachers and parents from the Dearborn and Andrew School districts.

One of the objectives of the Institute was "to encourage the development of positive attitudes toward schools in parents and community people by introducing them to what's going on in today's classroom." Parents considered the Institute very successful in this objective. Parents also liked meeting teachers on an equal footing. Some of their comments are illustrative:

> I liked most that parents and teachers got to know each other, and the parents found out that they could relate to the teachers. They learned a lot more....after they learned about the teachers, they could communicate with them.
>
> I liked it because the parents had a chance to get together with a lot of the teachers.... mostly on an even keel, where they weren't really standing on ceremony but were working one with the other.
>
> I liked the idea of being with the teachers and it gave you opportunities to know what was really going on in the classroom, to know what the teachers are doing and what they like doing.

Parents also liked learning new skills. One commented:

> The one thing the Dearborn Summer Institute introduced to the people in the neighborhood was that they had skill they didn't know they had.

For future workshops, parents suggested that more parents, as well as more children, be involved, and also that they have a chance to participate in the planning stages.

With teachers it was quite another story. Participants were allowed to attend workshops in photography, language arts, reading, dramatics, math and science, building with tri-wall, or black social studies. They could also choose to work individually on writing and generating curriculum appropriate to their own needs in the classroom. The large amount of freedom was not always appreciated. Many felt it was "disorganized." Teachers commented:

> The beginning contained more structure; then it became a free-for-all.
>
> A lot of people I talked to sort of felt it was a game. They were getting paid, and they were happy with the money. Other than that they really didn't see the purpose of it.... A lot of teachers felt a terrible lack of direction and a lack of relevance. It was just sort of messing around,

> you know? And it was an enjoyable way to get some money without putting out too much effort. I think it was too bad that a lot of them were sort of sneering at the whole thing.
>
> I had a new dog, and it was too hot. They let us choose what we wanted to do and I chose the beach.

The freedom of the Institute seems to have produced reactions in the teachers not unlike those often attributed to black parents and children who confront open education. The parents want their children to learn specific skills in school. The children say "Wow, going to school and getting to play and take trips! That's school work?" As one teacher commented:

> If you're going to unstructure a class or learning experience, a person who is leading that experience has to be tremendously structured himself, and that's the chief thing that was wrong with the Institute.

A major educational controversy is reflected here--the open classroom versus the tight training classroom. Many black educators and parents have advocated the tight classroom for black children. The reading workshop at the Dearborn School was a significant exception to the Institute's atmosphere. Attendance was compulsory and a carefully delineated set of skills and materials was taught. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark's program for teaching reading in Washington emphasizes performance contracting. Strict adherence to this plan (known in Washington as the Clark Plan) makes it very difficult to follow the open classroom philosophy promulgated by the Pilot Communities Program. It is not clear whether the two approaches are, in fact, incompatible, but at the moment, the two camps are clearly divided. One serious question implied in this controversy is whether the goals of educational change are different for black and white children, parents,

and communities. But, as the teacher commented, whatever way an individual chooses to organize the learning experience, the instructor must have his own principles tightly organized. The effectiveness of his techniques must be judged against the needs of the participants and the carefully worked-out goals of the instructor. Much of the Pilot Communities work can be seen as the development of strategies for education, rather than the implementation of such strategies.

NEW TEAM STRUCTURE. Because of its extensive commitments to thirty separate educational agencies and institutions, both public and private, the Boston Resource Team had to reorganize in 1969. The four principal components of the Team's activities (Research and Development, Evaluation, Community, and Operations) were coordinated with three Task Forces (Whole School, Pre-and In-Service Training, and School Department).

The Whole School Task Force worked directly with teachers and administrators, both individually and through workshops in the Dearborn and Andrew Schools. This teacher-directed effort was considerably diluted by the Team's expansion into new areas. Some of the original Team members, whose major commitment was to working with teachers in the target schools, became disaffected and resigned during the year.

The Pre- and In-Service Training Task Force maintained relationships with Highland Park Free School, New School for Children, the Roxbury Community School--a community school started by the Committee for Community Educational Development--a group of four Catholic parochial schools in Roxbury which were redesigning their curricula--and teacher-training institutions.

The Resource Center, located in the Hawthorne House in Roxbury, continued its workshops for teachers, a Black History Library, and served as a drop-in center for children and adults. The School Department Task Force dealt with the administration of the Boston public schools. Its principal activity was the development of a bilingual school for Spanish-speaking children.

One of the principal negative effects of the new and elaborate organization was to split the Boston Team into unworkably small sub-units; in addition, most members were part of more than one sub-group, demanding more and more meetings with less and less results. Perhaps most important, there was also a disunion among Team members. Individuals who had commitments to their own activities now found themselves in competition with their fellow Team members for EDC monies and resources. Thus, the question of focus became crucial. In a January letter, the Team leader suggested

> that our direction and focus should be primarily one of bringing awareness and education to the constituency--and we mean by that parents and community people that are involved with students who attend public schools. (For education) to be relevant to black people, non-whites and poor people, there must be a mutual appreciation for the differences in people and one need not feel that their existence and their set of values is necessarily better (or worse) than another's.

Congruent with this emphasis, the Task Force leaders decided that meaningful education must involve improving the self-image of the child, a search for changing values, and working with parents in a productive way. They also thought strategy for constant in-house reassessment needed to be articulated, and individual Team members' skills and

abilities needed to be clarified. However, these attempts at self-direction were doomed by the diversity of personal goals and directions. It was clear that the Team leadership was moving more heavily toward a community involvement, but some of the original Team members were not prepared to accept this focus. Racial conflicts played a part in this inability to achieve unity of purpose.

SELF-EVALUATION. An important part of team-building activity is self-evaluation. Without built-in checks, it is quite possible to go astray or to find that one's efforts are achieving undesirable effects. The Boston Team was very conscientious about taking stock of itself. During this period of shifting emphasis in the spring of 1970, it asked itself questions like the following:

> How can we explain to black kids that this country passed laws never believing blacks were people?
>
> Where in the system can there be change?
>
> What kind of approach will provide individuals with another criterion to measure education progress?
>
> Are we thinking about team-building or cleaning house?
>
> How do we strengthen Team members? How do we strengthen people?
>
> How to help kids deal with competition in schools yet prepare them for a competitive society
>
> How can the group improve the self-image of kids when they aren't involved in self-examination?
>
> What is the best approach or what are the best app.oaches for involving parents?

Answers did not come easily. And when they did come, it was not always possible to implement the suggested actions. As one Team member said in retrospect:

> If you are going to embark on a program like this, you've got to get a large Team and this large Team has to be very similar in the way they operate and the philosophy they have about education. If not, you spend all your time fighting and discussing the things you are going to do--then you never get to the task.

Diversity of race, philosophy, tactical strategy, and Team activities characterized the Boston Pilot Communities' effort during the first three years. The year 1969-70 saw the maximum variability on each point. At the close of the year, the Team decided to concentrate all of its efforts on the Dearborn School district.

The Team had begun the year with eighteen members. By the end of the year, four including the leader had quit and five had been let go. The only remaining original Team member became the leader of a seven-member all-black Team. There were also two white part-time members, but the focus on the Dearborn School and the Resource Center in Roxbury represented the focus that had never previously been achieved. The Team members who began planning the 1970-71 year were in <u>their</u> first year of existence as a Team.

<u>TEAM OPERATIONS</u> (1970-71). By the end of June, 1970, the Boston Team had undergone an almost complete transformation. The original Team consisted of white, mostly female school teachers who had little urban school experience. The Team that began the summer was black, largely male, with few teachers and several community organizers. All Team

activities were to be concentrated in the Resource Center and the Dearborn School district.

In the summer of 1970, EDC held a workshop in Newton for teachers from all over the country. Among those attending were five members of the Boston Team. Of those attending the workshop, only one had had any teaching experience in Roxbury (he taught physical education at the Dearborn School), and only one other had taught in regular classrooms. Three were formally introduced to teaching and curriculum at this workshop.

The Team that began the year had a unified focus and similar philosophies of education. Since many of the Team members were new in education, learning about teaching techniques and school systems were difficult and demanding tasks.

The Team set the following goals:

- Changing the physical appearance of the Dearborn School including lighting, broken glass and garbage removal, as well as painting, fixing window panes, doorknobs and shades.
- Improving the morale of the school staff and students.
- Making the curriculum relevant to the needs of the students.
- Getting more parents involved in the school.

The Team's activities for the year were coordinated around two locations, the Resource Room in the Dearborn School and the Resource Center, located in a former bank building in the Roxbury community. The Resource Room served the children of the Dearborn School and was planned to serve the teachers as well. The Resource Center primarily served the community, but also was used for teacher workshops and student projects.

Under the slogan "Dearborn is Beautiful," the Resource Room brightened up an otherwise drab and depressing school building. An average-sized classroom in the Dearborn Annex, it housed a variety of activities. Paperback library, darkroom, science corner, art supplies, and sewing machines interested and excited students--a rarity in the Deerborn School.

It is almost impossible to convey in writing the ethos of the Resource Room. The curriculum materials were designed and presented in ways to which children could respond and enrich their own experience of the world; it was an attempt to reach rather than to teach the children. A session on the Eskimos exposed the children to the contrasting cultures of minority groups. A photography unit on their community helped the children to experience more clearly their own particular way of life. A Parents' Awareness Workshop encouraged parents to become involved with their children in the process of learning and growing.

Teachers did not use the Resource Room; they "felt it belonged to EDC." Most of them felt it was important to the school, but did not feel they had any stake in its functioning. The Resource Room remained an oasis in the school until the end of the year.

Pilot Communities ended in June of 1971. The Boston Team spent several months agonizing over what would become of the Resource Room, what would become of the children. They feared leaving the children with a sense of abandonment. They had little confidence that the teachers would or could carry out the work of the Resource Room.

An entry from an evaluator's log, after the Team had left, provides a postscript to the Team's activities in the Dearborn.

June 1971

> On my way into the main building, one of the three school volunteers walking behind me had her handbag stolen and was knocked down in the process of trying to hang on to it. She was an older woman with white hair--looked like a typical suburbanite. Caught a glimpse of the boy running with her bag as she sat in the middle of the road, red-faced and a bit stunned.
>
> I picked up questionnaires that teachers had left in the office, then proceeded to the annex. The Resource Room had been vandalized over the weekend, and all the audio-visual equipment had been stolen. Books and other things were strewn about the room; the windows had been boarded up, and the room had been torn up.
>
> The constant confusion, kids running up and down the hallways, in and out of classes. Girls smoking forbidden cigarettes in the bathroom, trying to find ways to duck classes. Kids going into classrooms selling stolen goods, cookies, little cakes, and ice cream. "EVERYTHING IS GOING ON HERE EXCEPT EDUCATION."
>
> The Resource Room was gone, vandalized. Although the teachers felt it belonged to EDC, and Team members felt teachers did not care, the nearly unanimous consensus was that it was a good thing, and the Dearborn School was better for it.

These comments by teachers and administrators at the Dearborn School capture some of the perceived good and bad points of the Boston Team's effort at the Dearborn. On balance, the reaction was highly positive. Looking to the future, however, the vandalized Resource Room sets the tone. There remain white teachers teaching black children who, with their parents, lack confidence and interest in the school.

OPERATING PRINCIPLES (IV)

The following lessons from the Pilot Communities' experience describe the ideal working relationship between teams and teachers.

Operating Principle

QUICK RESPONSE TO NEW OPPORTUNITIES. Team members' time should be loosely enough allocated to allow quick response to needs that arise on the project site.

Evidence from the Four Sites

In comparison to the teachers they were serving, the Teams in the Pilot Communities Program had vast blocks of uncommitted time. They could respond to opportunities that arose and shift their resources to cover obligations incurred in the past. The response of the Washington Team to the incidents that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King (see p. 91) beautifully illustrates the potential of creative Team work.

The Boston Team was especially responsive to newly-discovered needs. Team members helped plan a new private community school. They organized a large bilingual program for Spanish-speaking children. They worked with education task forces in Boston's Model Cities Program. And they helped parent groups to organize. To some extent, this fervent work outside of the schools arose from the Boston Team's difficulties relat-

ing to teachers in schools. But it was also a series of genuine respor to never-ending demands for help from understaffed groups.

Operating Principle

THE NECESSITY OF TRUST. Without mutual trust, any helping relationship will founder. As one Team member put it, "change, being personal, is based on trust, and one has to be trusted as a person before much happens in the way of attitude change. That business of building trust needs time."

Evidence from the Four Sites

A Team member in Boston struck a similar chord:

> "The first thing is establishing a trust level so they can feel you have something in common with them, and, secondly, that you can work with them. It's very important not to work on them, which seems to be the practice for a lot of people coming in who call themselves change agents. They sort of come in working their own thing rather than finding out what kinds of things parents are concerned about. Work around those things; then, possibly, as a result . . . find some success so that you can move onto other things that you may see as important. But they have to be able to work out their own things in the beginning in order for them to have any confidence in themselves and you. Work with, rather than or."

He also talked about listening and helping in a way that is applicable to all of the Teams' operations.

> "The first rule is to learn how to listen, and be able to process the things that you listen to in order to be able to come up with a working plan that both community people and you agree on. There are too many times that people go in working in their own thing. There's nothing wrong with that, but there's a time and a point at which you can do that and that's after you have established this credibility and after you have overcome this trust barrier. The only way that you can overcome this thing is by listening to people and trying to help them to facilitate their ideas first. Now if they agree on some other things that you want to do then you can go on, but so many times people come in and they've got their whole plan mapped out and they start working it and they meet a lot of resistance and they wonder why. The point is that people don't feel as if they have any part in that plan, making up that plan, so as a result they are going to resist it because they do not know what ends you are working for."

And there cannot be a "facade;" there cannot be a "screen;" the Team member cannot go through the futility of playing "expert." Instead, humility is necessary. A person who is honest must say "I don't know everything," and "let's work some of these things through;" he cannot be the person who says "I know."

CHAPTER 4

WASHINGTON

> The Team is a group of classroom teachers charged with providing an in-service program for teachers. What's unique about this? Simply the fact that teachers are responsible for the program. . . Given no authority and no formal evaluative powers, this group has designed and implemented the Model School Division (MSD) in-service program for four years.
>
> Ike Gordy
> Leader of the
> Washington Innovation Team

The members of the Pilot Communities Team in Washington all attribute their high degree of success as a team to the fact that they had previously been classroom teachers in the schools in which they worked. They did not come as experts from outside the system. In this respect, the Washington Team was unique in the Program. Of equal, if not greater importance, is the fact that before the Innovation Team began, the Pilot Communities staff and the school administrators associated with the Model School Division (MSD) in Washington had come to trust and respect one another. In fact, the very idea of the Innovation Team came out of their joint efforts to provide support to fifty elementary teachers.

PRECONDITIONS FOR CHANGE. In the years before the founding of the Innovation Team, the poverty of the school system in the Model School Division area ran deep--deeper by far than simple material shortages. As one educational reformer stated in a letter to Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell and Roman C. Pucinski:

> The outmoded nature of the system can be seen in the structure of the school system itself where standard operating procedures undercut the status of the teacher, inhibit the verbal development of the deprived child, and restrict the participation of the non-middle-class adult. The poverty of the system is visible in the precedence that administrative goals have over what should be the ultimate goal--teaching.
>
> Principals must complete outlandish numbers of forms before staff, supplies, and students can come together in a learning situation. The teacher who requests something unusual wins no favor for her ingenuity; it is far simpler to require that everyone use the same supplies and order them at the same time, and ignore the fact that they may be needed later or that the enthusiasms of a class may suddenly demand unanticipated teaching materials.
>
> /The/ lack of flexibility /characterizing the District's schools/ does more than simply inhibit learning. It reinforces undesirable attitudes and behavior among administrators, teachers and students. Control, not learning, becomes the keystone; and authority, not participation, becomes the standard method of operation. The result is that rather than working together, administrators, teachers and students seem locked in battle.

The purpose of the MSD and, eventually, the Innovation Team, was to see that this organizational poverty in the Washington school system was somehow changed or eradicated.

The movement for a Model School Division began with a report of March, 1964, by the President's Panel on Educational Research and Development. The report urged superintendents of urban school systems to carve out a sub-system of schools and free them to experiment without the usual institutional restraints. The Superintendent of the D. C. schools, taking the report as a mandate, proposed that the Board of Education adopt the model school system concept and implement it by appointing an Advisory Committee. With the creation of this committee, the MSD was officially launched.

There is no need to review the early development of the MSD and its Advisory Committee except to say that although the autonomy proposed in the Panel's report was never achieved, the MSD did become an area in the District school system in which experimentation and innovation were more possible than elsewhere. Additional, albeit limited, funds from the anti-poverty program provided the MSD with a staff of people whose job was to think about innovations to improve the school system. The rhetoric about autonomy, even when it was not intended to be taken seriously, created a tension that these people could, and did, exploit. Thus, for example, it was the availability of the Advisory Committee's staff member and funds that enabled the MSD to conduct its first Summer Institute in 1965.

One of the basic purposes of the Summer Institute was to introduce MSD teachers to new curriculum and teaching methods which would presumably make the classroom learning situation more exciting and dynamic. It was expected that those teachers first familiarized with the new curriculum materials would eventually be prepared "to act as local resource teachers for the rest of the staff in their school."

The 150 Summer Institute participants returned to their classrooms in the fall, and many tried to implement the new ideas and methods they had learned. But, although the Institute planners had spelled out a follow-up strategy that involved continued consultant support through Saturday workshops, the numerous administrative problems that plagued all the MSD programs in the first few years of operation interfered with these plans.

The following year (1966), when teachers trained in a second Summer Institute returned to their classrooms, the same support problems were raised. Moreover, by the spring of 1967, the MSD had a cadre of almost 300 teachers, many of whom could be master teachers. There obviously existed at this time both the need for greater coordination of the MSD functions and the people trained to fill the need. Recognizing this match between needs and resources, the assistant superintendent of the MSD (Norman Nickens) and the science consultant from EDC (Mary Lela Sherburne) asked fifteen MSD teachers to become members of what came to be called an Innovation Team. The teachers were to be freed from specific classroom duties as they took responsibility for training other teachers in new materials and methods and helped coordinate MSD functions and services.

TEAM BUILDING AND PLANNING. The Summer Institute of 1967 focused primarily on building a team of fifteen into a cohesive working unit. A report by two consultants from EDC Pilot Communities describes the initial training of the team at the Institute.

> A week of sensitivity training brought into focus, and out in the open, some of the driving and countersurging forces for change working in the sub-system. The lack of communication between all levels of administration and teachers continued to be a theme. It was a common feeling that decisions were made by a few people, and that the opinions of the majority counted very little. The role of outside consultants in the system was questioned. . . .
>
> At the end of the week, the group produced a detailed list of factors which they felt were threatening the forward movement of MSD, and those which they felt were pushing it forward. This formulation became the basis for the planning of the operation of the Staff Development Conference for the next four weeks. During that period the group operated a small laboratory school for use in working through and discussing curriculum problems.

> More importantly, its members communicated with each other about their special programs, and problems, and the whole group entered into discussion of plans as to how the team of fifteen t achers would function in the coming school year. Dr. Cernius remained with the group as a consultant on group procedures and operations. He worked, as he expressed it, "to help the team members free themselves from self-imposed psychological restraints which stifled their functioning both as people and change agents." A prime need was to get the group thinking in terms of the needs of others, and to consider alternative change strategies.*

A summary of the early history of the Team by Mrs. Sherburne, the science consultant from EDC, lists both what the Team decided its functions should be and what conditions must prevail if it were to succeed.

Major functions of the Team:

1. To help teachers see themselves as potential instruments for initiating change in their own behavior. . .
2. To help teachers improve instruction in the classroom to the level that teaching and learning are both more pleasant activities. . .
3. To increase the power of teachers in decision-making in the school, especially in the area of curriculum. . .
4. To provide a coordinating function for services, resources, and school programs which assist a teacher to look at her classroom unit as a whole. . .
5. To provide a channel for experts, specialists, and people from many walks of life to enter the school system. . . at a level which will affect teaching and learning.

Conditions Necessary for Success

1. All classroom teachers had to have some opportunity for on-the-job training. . . (As a consequence, release time was built into the program.)
2. Teachers had to have the right to choose among new programs, to exercise options, and to feel they could make choices and exercise responsibility for the instructional programs they carried out.

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*Mary Lela Sherburne and Vytas Cernius, The Innovation Team: A Model for Change in Inner City Schools? Pilot Communities Program: Newton, Mass., 1968.

3. Teachers had to have access to new curriculum materials, equipment, and supplies on an immediate and responsive basis. . . (Therefore, the team set up its own purchasing and distribution system for special and innovative materials.)

4. The authority of the team should be that derived from its own competence and ability to deliver services to teachers. It would have no direct administrative, evaluative, or supervisory role. (Consequently, the team members retained their classification as teachers and worked with a teacher only when she exercised the initiative in requesting help.)

The summer experience was important, less because of the goals or conditions established for success, than because at the Institute the Innovation Team came to understand group process and group process techniques (which they later used in their own relationships with other teachers) and to know each other as potential colleagues. The process of building Team cohesion and establishing operating procedures continued into the fall.

TEAM OPERATION.* Mrs. Sherburne, although white and not a MSD teacher, was elected the first Team leader. A training center for teachers was established in an old furniture store. The Team also decided to set aside Fridays of every week to continue their own growth in both skills and group process with outside consultants.

The Team decided that it would function in the fourteen schools, not as individuals, but as sub-teams. Each sub-team, composed of three members with different subject matter specialties, was to be responsible for three buildings. This division was conceived as a way of increasing the variety

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*Logs of Team meetings and the Team members' meetings with teachers, principals, and other school personnel have unfortunately been lost. Thus, much of the reconstruction of how the Team operated day-by-day is from the proposals and reports of those who were intimately involved in the Team. Although activities may not have been carried out as smoothly as some of these accounts would suggest, they are useful as an overview of Team operations.

of talent, skills, and personalities available to each school. It also was a way to permit Team members to support one another in a working situation. The Team also agreed that, as a general policy, any Team member could be called on for use in special situations in a school by any other member if his particular specialty were needed.

The Team's first efforts were directed at introducing themselves to the principals and assistant principals of the schools where they would work. In a series of meetings, they exchanged ideas on how to maximize the Team's effectiveness. However, the Team was not accountable to these principals but rather to the Assistant Superintendent of the MSD. In fact, this independence from the principals seemed so important to the Team that it went so far as to obtain the right to enter and leave any of the fourteen buildings without having to announce the fact to the principal. (After a few years of working almost entirely with the teachers, the Team was to turn to more direct involvement with the principals as initiators of change. But its independent relationship with them always continued.)

The sub-teams then met with the faculty of each of the schools where they would be working to describe the ways in which they might be of assistance. Ike Gordy, a member of the Team, listed a number of these functions:

1. Converse with teachers about their needs
2. Order materials for teachers
3. Conduct classroom demonstrations for new and tenured teachers
4. Substitute for teachers who were either ill or attending workshops

5. Put up bulletin boards

6. Assist with the writing of lesson plans

7. Assist with the physical examinations of children

8. Conduct and organize workshops

9. Provide moral support for teachers.

The Cernius and Sherburne report catches some of the flavor of the first months.

> The first year was characterized by ebullient spirit and immediate successes. Team members found friends and supporters among the teaching staff and the supervisors and administrators, especially those who had been part of the summer conference. In general, the team met positive and well-disposed attitudes, or at the worst, questioning and wait-and-see ones.
>
> There was an immediate need for the Team's services with seventy new, mostly inexperienced teachers, entering the Model Schools. These new teachers were the victims of their lack of familiarity with the style of the children whom they were to teach in the inner city. First week classes were often chaotic. Where and how did one begin?
>
> The friendly, experienced hand of a Team member was more than welcome. They would teach a lesson and give the new teacher a chance to rest and observe. They would reorganize the room, and be off, only to be back in a while with some new piece of equipment or educational game which could occupy overactive students and grant the new teacher precious learning time to grab hold.
>
> Even more astonishing, they would finish and would ask, "Now what would you like in the way of new materials, or workshops to help you do a better job?" And in a few days they would be back with a list of offerings and the suggestion that the teacher make her choice. Old and new teachers alike welcomed the materials and workshops the Team offered. Initial gains were easily made in this atmosphere. Feedback, both from team to teachers and from teachers to team, was reinforcing.
>
> The team set up procedures for ordering and distributing supplies. They were responsible for their own purchasing. A contractual agreement with EDC provided ready access to funds and rapid purchasing to meet daily and changing needs of teachers.

> Until the end of October the team was immersed in formulating its new role. All relationships were new and exciting. The easiest tasks came first. The consultant, Dr. Cernius, reminded the team in one of its weekly sessions in October, "This is the honeymoon."

Among the activities conducted the first year, the volunteer workshops in reading, mathematics, social studies, and science involved the bulk of the Team's time. Not only did the Team members schedule the workshops, they arranged for the appropriate consultants, handled enrollment, obtained the necessary substitute teachers to free the teachers to attend (since they were held during the school day), and helped lead the meetings. The following sample from the January-May, 1968 schedule is illustrative.

Tuesday, February 20 INDIVIDUALIZED READING (Beginning) Grades 1-6

> This workshop is open to those teachers who have ordered the SOUNDS OF LANGUAGE reading series and OWL series, or who wish to order them and begin an individualized program.
>
> The extent of use of individualized materials, and the transition to the program can be gradual and modified to your class and needs. Therefore, there is no need to fear becoming involved at this time of the year. You can use what you learn--now and later!
>
> Consultant: Mrs. Peggy Brogan
> Instructors: Edith Baxter and Annie Neal
> Workshop open to 30 teachers

Wednesday, February 21 AFRICAN WORKSHOP 9:30-2:30

> Enrichment for teachers who are involved or have been involved in the study of Africa. Workshop will include curriculum evaluation, resource people, books, records materials available, listed trips and artifacts necessary. Correlation with Negro History as a new unit of a culminating activity from Mr. Penn, Director of History Department, D.C. Public Schools.
>
> Consultant: Dr. Bernard Coleman, Assistant Secretary of African Affairs, State Department
> Instructor: Donald Greene